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LIFE OF DR. FRANKLIN.

WITH AN ELEGANT HEAD.

BENJAMIN Franklin, who will shine with distinguished lustre in the page of history as a philosopher, a politician, and a legislator, seems to be indebted for his fame more to natural abilities and strength of genius than to the greatness of his ancestors, or the opulence of his family. Like the celebrated French orator, Flechier, he was the son of a tallow-chandler, who emigrated from England for his religious opinions, and established himself at Boston, where he carried on his business, and where the subject of these memoirs was born, on the 17th of January, 1706.

When scarcely fourteen, young Franklin left the place of his nativity, where he probably worked some time with his father in his profession, and went to Philadelphia about the year 1720. Here he found means to get himself introduced to the only printer then settled in that city, who, observing him to be a youth of parts, and possessed of a happy disposition, received him into his house, and

taught him the art of printing, which at this period was very little known throughout the greater part of that country.

In this situation, Franklin gave such specimens of his talents and industry as recommended him to the notice of strangers who, from motives of curiosity, visited the printing-office of his master, and few of them quitted it without giving him some marks of their liberality and satisfaction.

Fond of knowledge, and having an insatiable desire for instruction, young Franklin perceived that at such a distance from England he could acquire it only from books; but as these were difficult to be procured in a place which contained only four or five hundred volumes, he formed, in conjunction with some other young men, whose pursuits were congenial with his own, a small book society, the members of which agreed to bring together all the literary works they possessed, in order to establish a library.

library. As this resource, however, was not sufficient to gratify his ardent thirst for science, he prevailed on the society to contribute a fixed sum every month, for the purpose of purchasing books in London, which, as they arrived, were added to the original collection.

This society being soon known, its members rapidly increased, and, to make the institution more generally useful, they resolved to lend out books to such of the inhabitants of Philadelphia as had a turn for reading, on condition of their paying a certain subscription. By these means, they augmented their fund, and consequently their collection, so much, that in the course of a few years they had more books perhaps than were to be found in all the colonies put together. In short, the advantages arising from this establishment appeared to be so great that their example was followed at Boston, New York, Charles Town, and other places; and thus was laid the foundation of those valuable libraries now to be seen in these towns, as well as at Philadelphia, which can boast of one not inferior, perhaps, to any even in Europe.

Convinced, however, that all the assistance he could procure at Philadelphia would not conduct him to that point at which he wished to arrive, Franklin determined to pay a visit to England: he therefore came over to this country about the year 1724 or 1725, and worked for some time in London, as a journeyman printer, with the late Mr. Watts. Though in this humble station, he had procured letters of recommendation to Martin Folkes, Esq. afterwards President of the Royal Society, by whom he was well received, and through him was known to Dr. Clarke: but he was not gratified with a sight of Sir Isaac Newton, which he often lamented, and which he had greatly laboured to obtain. The increasing infirmities, and great age, of Sir Isaac prevented him from enjoying that pleasure.

It may not be here improper to observe, as an instance of Franklin's good sense, that he was never ashamed of his origin, or blushed to mention his having worked for daily hire. In a conversation at Paris, in company with Count D'Aranda and the Duke de la Rochefoucault, he replied to an Irish gentleman, who asked him some questions about the state of the paper manufactory there, " Few men can give you more information on that subject than myself, for I was originally in the printing trade." Some years ago, when in London, he paid a visit to Mr. Hett, who succeeded Mr. Watts, and having taken a view of the spot where he had once laboured, he retired, highly satisfied, after making a present in money to the journeymen. Mr. Watts had behaved to Franklin with so much kindness that he always entertained a grateful remembrance of it. At every entertainment which he gave his workmen, during the life of Watts, the health of his old friend and master, who used often to say that " his young American composér," as he called him, " would one day make a considerable figure," was one of the first toasts.

By an original letter to Sir Hans Sloane, Bart. published in the Gentleman's Magazine, and dated June 2d, 1725, it appears that Mr. Franklin, at this early period, had a strong turn for philosophical science. This letter is as follows.

" Having lately been in the northern parts of America, I have brought from thence a purse made of the stone asbestus, a piece of the stone and a piece of the wood, the pithy part of which is of the same nature, and called, by the inhabitants, salamander cotton. As you are noted to be a lover of curiosities, I have informed you of thefe, and if you have any inclination to purchase them, or see them, let me know your pleasure by a line directed for me at the Golden Fan in Little Britain, and I will wait upon you with them."

How

How long Mr. Franklin resided in England, or in what year he went back to America, our materials do not inform us, but we learn, from the account of him published in France by Mr. Le Roy*, that on his return he persuaded the printer who first instructed him in the typographic art to set on foot a newspaper, on the plan of those published in London. This idea was attended with the happiest success, and his master, who derived great benefit from it, after admitting him as a partner, out of gratitude for his friendship and assistance, gave him his daughter in marriage. The fruits of this union were, a son, who espousing the party opposite to that of our philosopher, became one of the chiefs of the loyalists, and a daughter, afterwards married to Mr. Bache, a merchant in Philadelphia.

In 1735, Mr. Franklin was attacked by a severe pleurisy, which terminated in an abscess on the left lobe of his lungs, and he was then almost suffocated with the quantity and suddenness of the discharge. A second attack of a similar nature happened some years after this, from which he soon recovered, and he did not appear to suffer any inconvenience in his respiration from the effects of these diseases. His idea of death may be collected from a letter which he wrote to Miss Hubbard, on the loss of his brother, John Franklin, of Boston, who was Miss Hubbard's father-in-law.—“Dear child,” says he, “I condole with you; we have lost a most dear and valuable relation; but it is the will of God and Nature that these mortal bodies be laid aside, when the soul is to enter into real life; it is rather an embryo state, a preparation for living: a man is not completely born until he be dead;—why then shdul we grieve that a new child is born among the immortals, a new member added to their happy society?

“ We are spirits. That bodies should be lent us while they can afford us pleasure, assist us in acquiring knowledge, or doing good to our fellow creatures, is a kind and benevolent act of God. When they become unfit for these purposes, and afford us pain instead of pleasure, instead of an aid, they become an incumbrance, and answer none of the intentions for which they were given. It is equally kind and benevolent that a way is provided by which we may get rid of them. Death is that way. We ourselves prudently choose a partial death. In some cases, a mangled painful limb, which cannot be restored, we willingly cut off. He who plucks out a tooth parts with it freely, since the pain goes with it; and he that quits the whole body parts at once with all the pains and possibilities of pains and diseases it was liable to, or capable of making him suffer. Our friend and we are invited abroad—on a party of pleasure—that is to last for ever—his carriage was first ready, and he is gone before us; we could not all conveniently start together; and why should you and I be grieved at this, since we are soon to follow, and know where to find him? Adieu!”

By pursuing his profession with diligence and assiduity, Mr. Franklin, after the year 1748, was enabled, by the fortune which he had acquired, to devote more of his time to the study of natural philosophy, and to the service of his country, by taking an active part in the government and the administration of public affairs.—About this period also, he began to turn his thoughts towards electricity, in which he made some very important discoveries.

The celebrated experiment of Leyden having excited the attention of all the literati and philosophers in Eu-

* See *Note de M. le Roy, sur Franklin*, at the end of his *Eloge*, by the Abbé Fauchet, read before the Deputies of the National Assembly of France, &c. on the 21st of June, 1790.

rope, Mr. Collinson, a member of the Royal Society, sent Mr. Franklin several glass tubes and other instruments, proper for making electrical experiments, and for pursuing his researches in that curious part of science. These he employed with so much success, that he was at length enabled to make those discoveries which astonished the world, and which alone are sufficient to render his name immortal. Two of those discoveries seem peculiarly to characterize his genius: that of the unequal distribution of the electric fluid, and that of conductors. Mr. Grey had said, a little before his death, that if small objects were to be compared with great, he would venture to affirm, that electricity and lightning were one and the same thing. The more the phenomena of electricity were multiplied, the more this idea appeared to be founded in truth; and as it was observed in America, that pointed bodies attracted the electric fluid at a much greater distance than bodies of any other figure, our philosopher concluded, that if the clouds during a storm are filled with that fluid, any metal point presented to them, in an elevated situation, would be electrified by them. This grand and sublime conjecture was at first treated as an absurdity by those who could not soar above the prejudices of the vulgar, but it was soon after confirmed in France by Mr. Dalibard, who made the experiment on the 10th of May,

1752.

This gentleman caused an iron rod, an inch in diameter, forty feet in length, and very sharp at the upper extremity, to be erected in a garden at Marly-la-Ville, six leagues from Paris. It was supported by large poles, disposed at proper distances, and was insulated by means of silk strings and a stool with glass feet. On the day above mentioned, between the hours of two and three in the afternoon, after a very loud clap of

thunder, the Sieur Coiffier, who was left to make observations in Mr. Dalibard's absence, ran to the machine, and having presented to the rod a piece of wire fitted to a glass handle, observed a small brilliant spark to proceed from it, with a crackling noise, and on repeating the experiment, produced a second, still stronger than the former, and accompanied with a louder noise*.

About a month after this period our philosopher verified the same theory by means of an electric kite, which he raised when a storm of lightning was perceived to be coming on. This kite had a pointed wire fixed upon it, by which it drew the lightning from the clouds. The lightning descended by a hempen string, and was received by a key, tied to the extremity of it; that part of the string which was held in the hand being of silk, that the electric virtue might stop when it came to the key. Having prepared his apparatus, he embraced the opportunity of the first approaching thunder storm to take a walk into a field, in which there was a shed convenient for his purpose; but dreading the ridicule which too often attends unsuccessful attempts in science, he communicated his intention to nobody but his son, who assisted him in raising the kite.

The kite being raised, a considerable time elapsed before there was any appearance of its being electrified; but just as he was beginning to despair of his contrivance, he observed some loose threads of the hempen string to stand erect, and to avoid each other as if they had been suspended on a common conductor. Struck with this promising appearance, he immediately presented his knuckle to the key, and with infinite pleasure perceived a very evident electric spark. Others succeeded, even before the string was wet, and when the rain had moistened the string, he collected electric fire in great abundance. This happened in the month of June, 1752, be-

* *De L'Électricité des Météores, par L'Abbé Bertholon, Tome premier, pag. 12.*

fore he had heard, according to Dr. Priestley, of any thing of the like kind being done in France*. This curious experiment led our philosopher to a discovery of the utmost importance to mankind, but especially to the inhabitants of several parts of North America, where thunder storms are more frequent, and their effects in that dry air more dreadful than they are ever known to be in Europe. The discovery here alluded to, was that of securing buildings from being damaged by lightning. This great end our philosopher accomplished, by only fixing a metalline rod higher than any part of the building, and communicating with the ground, or rather the nearest water. This rod the lightning was sure to fly to sooner than to any other object, and by these means its dangerous power was safely conducted to the earth, and dissipated without doing any harm to the edifice.

On account of these and other useful discoveries in electricity, the Royal Society of London, on the 30th of November, 1753, adjudged Sir Godfrey Copley's medal to Mr. Franklin, and delivered it, to be transmitted to him, to the care of his worthy friend

Mr. Collinson. On this occasion, the Earl of Macclesfield, then President, made a speech, which greatly enhanced the value of the prize, and did honour to the judgment, candour and impartiality of that learned body. "To be assured," said his Lordship, "that in conferring this annual prize, constant regard will be had to the advancement of useful knowledge and the honour of the society;—to hear it declared, that overlooking their own circle, they will always, with the generous spirit of true philosophers, esteem ingenious men of all countries fellow members with themselves of the same illustrious republic of letters, and that they will accordingly distinguish the most deserving *Tros, Rutuluse*;—and to see this verified in the present instance, must excite laudable emulation among learned men, since in their turns they may hope for this honor, without friend, and without solicitation, wherever born, or however distant their residence."

About the year 1758, Dr. Franklin paid another visit to England; and in 1759 published an Historical Review of the Government of Pennsylvania,

* The French, however, contest with Dr. Franklin the honour of this curious discovery. "The learned," says the Abbé Bertholon, in his treatise on the Electricity of Meteors, "have been for some time divided respecting the inventor of electric kites. Some thought at first that Dr. Franklin had a title to this discovery, while others ascribed it to Mr. Romas, to whom we are indebted for several excellent memoirs respecting the electricity of the atmosphere. It appears at present, that this important point has been determined in favour of Mr. Romas, as is evident from what follows: In a letter which Mr. Romas wrote on the 12th of July, 1752, to the Academy of Sciences at Bourdeaux, he not only says that he succeeded in drawing electric fire from an insulated iron bar, on the 9th of the same month, but he mentions also the electric kite; besides, the letter in which Mr. Watson announced the experiment made at Philadelphia is dated January the 15th, 1753. It has indeed been pretended that this experiment was made in the month of June, 1752, but no proof of this has been brought, though Mr. Romas challenged his antagonists to bring any if they could; and the news of this experiment did not arrive in London till the month of January, 1753. As a farther confirmation in favour of Mr. Romas, it may be observed, that this gentleman having written to Dr. Franklin, on the 19th of October, 1753, and sent him two memoirs, inserted in the second volume of *Des Savans Etrangers*, the latter, in his reply, dated July the 4th, 1754, did not dispute the invention of the electric kite, which Mr. Romas claimed. The Academy of Sciences, therefore, after paying the greatest attention to this question, declared, on the 4th of February, 1764, that Mr. Romas had an idea of the electric kite nearly a year before Franklin made use of it. It is expressly said, in the registers of the Academy, that Mr. Romas had this idea, and had communicated it to several persons almost a year before Franklin made his experiment with it, and that it did not appear that he had borrowed from any person his notion of applying it to the purposes of electricity." *De L'Electricité des Meteores, par L'Abbé Bertholon, vol. I, pages 33 et 34.*

which

which was followed in 1760 by a work entitled, *The Interests of Great Britain considered, with regard to her Colonies.* Both these pamphlets display depth of judgment, as well as accuracy of observation, and evidently shew that the author was equally qualified to shine as a politician and a philosopher.

In the month of August, 1762, Dr. Franklin left England, and arrived at Philadelphia in the October following. His stay in America was, however, very short, for he came back to England in December 1764, and resided in this country above ten years, during which he published several miscellaneous pieces in the Philosophical Transactions.

In 1766, when the unfortunate stamp act created so much discontent and uneasiness in America, Dr. Franklin was examined, respecting the repeal of it, before the House of Commons. The queries put to him, together with his answers, which were clear and decisive, were printed in the year 1767, under the form of a shilling pamphlet, and may be seen in his Political, Miscellaneous, and Philosophical pieces, page 255.

Governor Hutchinson, Lieutenant Governor Oliver, Charles Paxton, Esq. Nathaniel Rogers, Esq. and Mr. G. Roome, having sent from Boston certain representations and informations respecting the disputes between Britain and the Colonies, to Thomas Whately, Esq. private secretary to Mr. George Grenville, the parent of the stamp act, these letters were, by some private channel, conveyed back to Boston. As soon as the Assembly of the province of Massachusetts Bay saw them, they were so exasperated, that they returned home attested copies of them, accompanied by a petition and remonstrance for the removal of Governor Hutchinson and Lieutenant Governor Oliver from their posts. On the 21st of August, 1773, this petition was transmitted by Dr. Franklin, agent for the house of representatives, to Lord Dartmouth, who having presented it to

the King, his Majesty was pleased to signify that it should be laid before him in his privy council.

Various conjectures were formed respecting the manner in which these confidential letters had escaped from among the papers of Mr. Whately, at this time deceased; and some correspondence on the subject passed between Mr. Whately's brother, a banker in Lombard-street, and John Temple, Esq. Governor of New Hampshire, through the medium of the public prints. The one gentleman wishing to avoid the charge of having given them, and the other of having taken them, the dispute at length became so personal and pointed, that Mr. Temple thought it necessary to call the brother into the field. The challenge was given in the morning, and the parties met in the afternoon in Hyde Park, when the former was dangerously wounded. Dr. Franklin was not then in town, and as he could not foresee what was past, he endeavoured to prevent any further bad consequences, by the following letter, addressed to the Printer of the *Public Advertiser*, and dated Craven-street, December the 25th, 1773:

“ Finding that two gentlemen have been unfortunately engaged in a duel about a transaction and its circumstances, of which both of them are totally ignorant and innocent, I think it incumbent upon me to declare (for the prevention of further mischief, as far as such a declaration may contribute to prevent it) that I alone am the person who obtained and transmitted to Boston the letters in question. Mr. Whately could not communicate them, because they were never in his possession; and for the same reason they could not be taken from him by Mr. Temple. They were not of the nature of *private* letters between friends. They were written by public officers to persons in public stations, on public affairs, and intended to procure public measures; they were therefore handed to other public persons who might be influenced by them to produce those measures. Their tendency was to incense

ence the mother-country against her colonies, and by the steps recommended, to widen the breach; which they effected. The chief caution expressed with regard to privacy was, to keep their contents from the colony agents; who, the writers apprehended, might return them, or copies of them, to America. That apprehension was it seems well founded; for the first agent who laid his hands on them thought it his duty to transmit them to his constituents."

Dr. Franklin's conduct on this occasion, whatever his enemies may have said to blacken his character, is consistent with that of a man of honour; since he gave up his name to public scrutiny, in order to prevent mischief to others, and yet did not betray his coadjutor to relieve his own fame from the severest obloquy.

In consequence of the address presented to his Majesty by Lord Dartmouth, Mr. Mauduit presented a petition to the privy council, humbly praying that he might be heard by council on behalf of the said Governor and Lieutenant Governor. On the 11th of January, 1774, Dr. Franklin was examined at the council chamber, on the subject of this address; but as the Doctor wished also to have the assistance of council, the affair was put off till Saturday, the 29th. The privy council having then met, Mr. Dunning and Mr. Lee appeared as council for the assembly, and Mr. Wedderburne, now Lord Loughborough, as counsel for the Governor and Lieutenant Governor. Mr. Wedderburne was very long in his answer, which related chiefly to the mode of obtaining and sending away Mr. Whately's letters; and he spoke of Dr. Franklin, who was considered as the principal actor in this business, in terms of the grossest abuse. Alluding to the duel before mentioned, Mr. Wedderburne said, "The letters could not have come to Dr. Franklin by fair means; the

writers did not give them to him; nor yet did the deceased correspondent, who from our intimacy would otherwise have told me of it. Nothing then will acquit Dr. Franklin of the charge of obtaining them by fraudulent or corrupt means, for the most malignant of purposes; unless he stole them from the person who stole them. This argument is irrefragable.—I hope, my Lords, you will mark [and brand] the man, for the honour of this country, of Europe, and of mankind. Private correspondence has hitherto been held sacred, in times of the greatest party rage, not only in politics, but religion. He has forfeited all the respect of societies and of men. Into what companies will he hereafter go, with an unembarrassed face, or the honest intrepidity of virtue. Men will watch him with a jealous eye, and lock up their escrtoires. He will henceforth esteem it to be called a *max of letters; homo trium literarum**. But he not only took away the letters from one brother, but kept himself concealed till he nearly occasioned the murder of the other. It is impossible to read his account, expressive of the coolest and most deliberate malice, without horror. Amidst these tragical events, of one person nearly murdered, of another answerable for the issue, of a worthy Governor hurt in his dearest interests, the fate of America in suspense, here is a man who, with the utmost insensibility of remorse, stands up and avows himself the author of all. I can compare it only to Zanga, in Dr. Young's Revenge.

Know, then, 'twas—I:
I forged the letter, I disposed the picture;
I hated, I despised, and I destroy.

I ask, my Lords, whether the revengeful temper, attributed by a poetic fiction only to the bloody Afri-

* Among the Romans, a thief was called *homo literatus*, and *homo trium literarum*, because the word *fur* consists of three letters.

† Here he read the letter before mentioned, the Dr. being all the while present.

" can is not surpassed by the coolness
" and apathy of the wily American?" This Philippic had a great effect, and the committee of the privy council having considered the petition, made a report, in which was expressed the following opinion:—" The lords of the committee do agree humbly to report as their opinion to your Majesty, that the petition is founded upon resolutions formed on false and erroneous allegations; and is groundless, vexatious, and scandalous; and calculated only for the seditious purposes of keeping up a spirit of clamour and discontent in the said province. And the lords of the committee do further humbly report to your Majesty, that nothing has been laid before them, which does or can, in their opinion, in any manner, or in any degree, impeach the honour, integrity, or conduct of the said governor, or lieutenant governor; and their lordships are humbly of opinion, that the said petition ought to be dismissed." On the 7th of February, therefore, his Majesty, taking the said report into consideration, was pleased to approve of it, and to order that the petition of the house of representatives of the province of Massachusetts Bay, be dismissed the board—as groundless, vexatious, and scandalous, and calculated only for the seditious purpose of keeping up a spirit of clamour and discontent in the said province. This was a prelude to Dr. Franklin's disgrace; he was dismissed from the office of deputy post-master-general for the colonies, which he had enjoyed for some time, and Mr. Wedderburn seemed in the high road for every kind of advancement. This gentleman's conduct, however, was so obnoxious to the Americans, that when they learned in what manner he had abused and insulted their agent, his effigies, together with that of governor Hutchinson, were put in a cart, and conducted through the streets of Philadelphia. On the breast of each a label was fixed, containing an

inscription, couched in very rancorous and scurrilous terms, and after being exposed for several hours, they were hung, and burnt in the evening, amidst a vast concourse of people, who testified their resentment against the originals, with the loudest acclamations.

Previous to this period, Dr. Franklin had used his utmost endeavours to prevent a breach between Great Britain and America, and it is, perhaps, much to be lamented, that his counsels and advice were either disregarded or treated with contempt. Even in the end of the year 1774, he seems to have been desirous, notwithstanding the ill usage he had met with, of doing every thing in his power to accommodate matters in an amicable manner. Some time previous to his departure, an intimate friend of Dr. Fothergill, being in company with a nobleman of great political experience, the conversation turned on the critical situation of the American colonies, and the latter pressed this gentleman to attempt a compromise with Dr. Franklin, before he quitted England. From a cordial wish to promote a permanent reconciliation between the two countries, the gentleman readily undertook the business, and accordingly applied to Dr. Fothergill, who heartily united in the cause. They therefore mutually invited Dr. Franklin to a conference the same evening, and, after much discussion, it was agreed that they should meet again the next evening, when Dr. Franklin was to commit to paper such a conciliatory plan as he conceived America had a right to expect, and the other two were then to object to such claims as they might judge Great Britain ought not to grant.

On the appointed evening Dr. Franklin produced a paper, containing seventeen articles, some of which being objected to by Dr. Fothergill and his colleague, were given up by Dr. Franklin, and suffered to be expunged. In this state a copy was taken, and imparted for negociation. The answer was, that the propositions were such

as appeared to demand too much, and, in consequence, several attempts were made to reconcile the subjects of contention; but as the twelfth article, that "the late Massachusetts and Quebec acts should be repealed, and a free government granted to Canada," was insisted on by Dr. Franklin, though many of the others were acceded to, the negotiation was broken off, and nothing farther attempted.* From this time he entertained so ardent a resentment against the conduct of England, that neither politeness nor moderation could prevent him from giving vent, in mixed companies, to the most bitter sarcasms against her measures; and, indeed, it is but doing him justice to say, that he foretold all the subsequent calamities with an almost prophetic sagacity.

In the year 1775, Dr. Franklin, after in vain attempting to bring matters into a train for settling the disputes between Great Britain and her colonies, embarked in the Pennsylvania packet, and returned to Philadelphia. The general assembly was sitting when his arrival was announced, and his consent being previously asked and obtained, he was chosen one of their delegates to the continental congress, and took his seat accordingly.

The principal outlines of the American war are still fresh in the memory of every one. On the 4th of July, 1776, America declared herself independent, and Mr. Silas Dean was commissioned to negotiate a treaty at Paris, and to endeavour to engage the French to afford her support in her dispute with the mother country. In the autumn of the same year, Dr. Franklin was sent by congress to Canada, to prevail, if possible, on the inhabitants to join in the common cause, and to unite with the rest of the provinces in shaking off the British yoke. Having failed in this business, the doctor returned to Philadelphia, and as congress well knew the esteem in which he was

held in France, and the reputation he had acquired there by his discoveries, he was dispatched thither for the purpose of putting the last hand to the negotiation which Mr. Dean had been carrying on, but in a very private manner. Though now entered on his seventieth year, Dr. Franklin accepted this delicate and important commission, and arriving at Paris on the 16th of December, soon after took the house which had been occupied by Lord Stormont. "Never," says a French writer,† "did I see a man so pleased and so happy as Dr. Franklin was on the day when Lord Stormont, the English Ambassador, quitted Paris, on account of our rupture with that court. We dined together, and the Doctor, who was generally very grave and composed, upon this occasion appeared to be quite another person."

In February, 1777, Dr. Franklin received a regular appointment of plenipotentiary from the Congress to the Court of France, and in 1783, had the pleasure of signing a treaty of peace with the English commissioners, and of seeing his country, after a long and tedious struggle, declared free and independent. To commemorate this happy event, the Doctor caused a medal to be struck, on one side of which is represented Hercules in his cradle, strangling two serpents, while a leopard, that seems amazed at his strength, and ready to fall upon him, is repulsed by France, under the figure of Minerva, who turns towards him her shield, in which there are three *fleurs de lis*. At the bottom, are the years 1777 and 1783, the epochs of the capitulations of the armies of Burgoyne and Cornwallis, represented by the two serpents; on the other side, is Liberty, emblematically pourtrayed by a fine woman; and on the exergue, *Libertas Americana*.

Dr. Franklin had for many years enjoyed a good state of health, though

* Life of Dr. Fothergill, by Dr. Lettsom.

† Mr. Le Roy, in his account of Franklin at the end of his eloge, by the Abbe Fauchet.

often troubled with periodical fits of the gout. In 1782 this disorder became extremely violent, accompanied by a very painful nephritic cholic, and it appears, that this was the origin of the stone, with which he was afterwards attacked. Finding his maladies encrease, and having now accomplished the highest object of his ambition, he longed to revisit that country which he had been so instrumental in rendering free. He solicited Congress therefore for leave to return, and Mr. Jefferson being appointed in his stead, when that gentleman arrived, he embarked at Havre, on the 24th of July, 1785, landed the same day at Southampton, and after a slight refreshment, proceeded to Cowes, where a vessel was ready to convey him to Philadelphia.* When he arrived there, which was on the 15th of September, he was received with tears of joy, and accompanied to his house by the members of the Congress, amidst the acclamations of citizens of all ranks. A gentleman, who was present, says, he never saw so affecting a scene. All the people shouted out "Liberty!" He was dressed by the general assembly then sitting, and afterwards by all orders of men in Philadelphia, who congratulated him on his return, and testified their approbation of his conduct by every mark of attention and respect.

For two years following, after his return, Dr. Franklin was appointed president of the assembly of Philadelphia; but his great age and increasing infirmities not permitting him to apply to public business, he requested and obtained leave to retire, that he might spend the remainder of his days in philosophical ease and tranquility. The stone, with which he had been for some time afflicted, soon after this period confined him almost continually to his bed; and during the painful paroxysms of that cruel disorder, he was obliged to swallow laudanum to

mitigate his tortures. In his moments of relief, however, he not only still amused himself with reading and conversing cheerfully with his family and a few friends who visited him, but he was often employed in transacting business of a public, as well as a private nature. On every occasion he displayed the utmost readiness and disposition to do good, and while he gave the clearest and fullest evidence of his being in possession of all his mental faculties, he not unfrequently amused those around him, by indulging in little fallies of pleasantries, and by relating entertaining anecdotes. About sixteen days before his death, he was seized with a feverish indisposition, without any particular symptoms attending it, till the third or fourth day, when he complained of a pain in his left breast, which increased till it became extremely acute, with a cough and laborious breathing. During this state, when the severity of his pain sometimes drew forth a groan of complaint, he would observe, that he was afraid that he did not bear his afflictions as he ought; he acknowledged his grateful sense of the many blessings he had received from the Supreme Being, who had raised him from a low beginning to such high rank and consideration among men, and made no doubt that what he suffered was kindly intended, to wean him from a world in which he was no longer fit to act the part assigned him. In this frame of body and mind he continued till within five days of his death, when his pain and difficulty of breathing entirely left him, and his family were flattering themselves with the hopes of his recovery, but an imposthume, which had formed itself in his lungs, suddenly burst, and discharged a great quantity of matter. This he continued to throw up while he had strength to do it, but as that failed, the organs of respiration became gradually oppressed, a calm le-

* Dr. Franklin seems to have left no part of his time unemployed; during his passage he wrote a long letter to a gentleman in France, respecting different improvements in the construction of ships, which abounds with excellent hints and ideas.

thargic state succeeded, and on the 17th of April, 1790, about eleven o'clock at night, he expired, in the eighty-fifth year of his age, thus closing a life spent in long and useful labours.

Three days before this event, he begged that his bed might be made, that he might die in a decent manner. His daughter told him that she hoped he would recover, and live many years longer, but he replied, "I hope not." His issue are one son, Governor William Franklin, who was a zealous loyalist during the late revolution in America, and now resides in London, and a daughter, married, as before mentioned, to Mr. Richard Bache, a merchant of Philadelphia. To the two latter he bequeathed the chief part of his estate, during their respective lives, and afterwards to be divided equally among their children. To his grandson, William Temple Franklin, Esq. he left a grant of some lands in the state of Georgia, the greater part of his library, and all his papers, besides something additional in case of his marriage. He made also various bequests and donations to cities, public bodies, and individuals, and requested that the following epitaph, which he composed for himself some years ago, should be inscribed on his tomb-stone:

THE BODY
OF
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, PRINTER,
LIKE THE COVER OF AN OLD BOOK,
ITS CONTENTS TORN OUT,
AND STRIPT OF ITS LETTERING
AND GILDING,
LIES HERE, FOOD FOR WORMS;
YET THE WORK ITSELF SHALL NOT
BE LOST,
FOR IT WILL, AS HE BELIEVED,
APPEAR ONCE MORE,
IN A NEW
AND MORE BEAUTIFUL EDITION,
CORRECTED AND AMENDED
BY
THE AUTHOR.*

Philadelphia never displayed a scene of greater grandeur than was exhibited at the funeral of this great man. His remains were interred on the 21st, and the concourse of people assembled was immense; the body was attended to the grave by thirty clergymen, and persons of all ranks and professions, arranged in the greatest order; all the bells in the city were tolled, muffled, and their mournful sound was accompanied by a discharge of artillery. Nothing was omitted that could shew the respect and veneration of his fellow citizens for so venerable and exalted a character. The Congress, on this occasion, ordered a general mourning for one month throughout the whole of the United States; and the National Assembly of France decreed also a general mourning of three days. "The august spectacle of the first free people on earth in mourning for the father of the liberty of two worlds," says a gentleman, in a letter, dated Paris, June the 14th, "added a peculiar interest and solemnity to the session of this day. So memorable a victory of philosophy over prejudice, is not recorded in the annals of the human race."

Various and respectable testimonies have been given of Franklin's merit, and some of them conceived in the highest strain of panegyric. In the year 1777, Lord Chatham, in a remarkable speech, adverted to his dissuasive arguments against the American war, and the sagacious advice he gave Great Britain respecting the manner in which she ought to behave towards her disaffected colonies. The year following Dr. Franklin received a very flattering compliment from Voltaire, who had a very great desire to see and to know the American Newton. This celebrated writer being introduced to him, conversed with him some time in English, till his niece, Madame Denis, interrupted him, by saying that Dr. Franklin understood French, and that the rest of

* This epitaph, as is said, first appeared in a *Boston news-paper*, established and printed by Dr. Franklin.

the company wished to learn the subject of their discourse. "Excuse me, my dear," replied the bard, "I have the vanity to shew that I am not unacquainted with the language of a Franklin."* On his reception into the French academy, D'Alembert welcomed him with that well known line, which revived all the boldness and sublimity of Lucan.

Eripuit cælo fulmen, sceptrumque tyrannis.†

And Dubourg, the first Frenchman who openly espoused the cause of America, inscribed under a head of him the following lines :

Il a ravi le feu des cieux ;
Il fait fleurir les arts en des climats sauvages ;
L' Amérique le place à la tête des sages ;
La Grèce l'auroit mis au nombre de ses dieux.*

The memories of old people are supposed not to be retentive. To this rule Franklin was an exception, for he acquired the French language after seventy, and spoke it fluently, and even scientifically. In his French embassy, he became the *ton*, and the fashionable topic of modish conversation. The ladies, for whom he was always a warm advocate, had hats *à la Franklin*; and crowds of belles and beaux often fluttered after him in the garden of the Tuilleries.

His conversation was rendered valuable not only by a love of truth, but by a precision and accuracy of definition which made him always intelligible, even to the unlearned; and which he had acquired from mathematical study. Speaking of the late Count de Vergennes, the French minister, and

having accidentally said, that he was a man of honour, he immediately added, "I call him a man of honour because he never made me a promise, nor even gave me a hope that he did not amply fulfil. In society he was tententious, but not fluent; a listener rather than a talker; an informing rather than a pleasant companion. He was impatient of interruption, and he often mentioned the custom of the Indians, who always remain silent some time before they give an answer to a question which they have heard attentively; unlike some of the politer societies in Europe, where a sentence can scarcely be finished by one party before another begins to reply.

Dr. Franklin's merit as a philosopher is universally acknowledged, and science will hereafter record his name in the truest registers of fame, which, however unjust it may be to the living, from caprice, the malevolence of party, or the adulations of servility, is ever just to the dead. The principles and properties of electricity were little known in the last age, and the electric fluid is but barely mentioned at the end of Newton's optics. It was referred to Franklin to investigate the nature of this subtle agent, the cause of so many wonderful phenomena; and of the science of electricity he may be considered as the father. By uniting theory with practice he was enabled to make very important discoveries, independent of those in Europe, of which his three first publications, entitled *New Experiments and Observations on Electricity made at Philadelphia, in America*, communicated in several letters to Peter Collinson, Esq. F. R. S. the first of which is dated July the 28th, 1747, and the last, April 18th, 1754, are a convincing

* We shall take this opportunity of relating a short anecdote respecting Dr. Franklin, which might have appeared perhaps with more propriety in another place. During the time he was at Paris, the Pennsylvania stoves, invented by him, became very fashionable, but one of the French ministers being asked whether he would have one, replied, "By no means—Lord Stormont then will never warm himself at my fire."

+ He snatched fire from Heaven, and the sceptre from tyrants.

† He disarmed Heaven of its thunder; he caused the arts to flourish in the most unfavourable climates; America places him at the head of her sages; had he lived in Greece, he would have been ranked amongst the number of her gods.

proof.

proof. "Nothing," says Dr. Priestley, "was ever written on the subject of electricity which was more generally read and admired in all parts of Europe than these letters. There is hardly an European language into which they have not been translated; and as if this were not sufficient to make them properly known, a translation of them has been lately made into Latin. It is not easy to say, whether we are most pleased with the simplicity and perspicuity with which these letters are written, the modesty with which the author proposes every hypothesis but his own, or the noble frankness with which he relates his mistakes when they were corrected by subsequent experiments.

" Though the English have not been backward in acknowledging the great merit of this philosopher, he has had the singular good fortune to be perhaps even more celebrated abroad than at home; so that to form a just idea of the great and deserved reputation of Dr. Franklin, we must read the foreign publications on the subject of electricity; in many of which the terms *Franklinism*, *Franklinist*, and the *Franklinian System* occur in almost every page. In consequence of this, Dr. Franklin's principles bid fair to be handed down to posterity, as equally expressive of the true principles of electricity as the Newtonian philosophy is of the true system of nature in general." The invention of conductors, which was entirely Dr. Franklin's, will be remembered with gratitude while the safety of mankind is an object of importance; and he appears, notwithstanding the claims of some philosophers to have been the first person who ventured to raise an electrical kite in the heavens; for we find in the Philosophical Transactions a paper of his on that subject, dated October 1st, 1752.

Dr. Franklin's powers of mind were not only strong but various, and his observations were not confined to this science alone: there were few subjects of common utility upon which he did not comment, and he turned his thoughts to none which he did not improve and illustrate. Those who wish to be convinced of the truth of this assertion, need only peruse his Observations concerning the Increase of Mankind, peopling of Countries, &c. his Way to Wealth; his Thoughts on the Price of Corn, and the Management of the Poor: his Advice to Servants, to Tradesmen, and to Settlers in America; his Treatise on the Cure of Smoaky Chimnies; his Rules for Clubs and for Conversation; his Maxims to convert a great into a small empire, written with all the satirical spirit of Swift; his Letter on sundry Maritime Observations, written during his last passage to Philadelphia, and addressed to Mr. Alphonse le Roy, at Paris, author of a treatise on the Navigation of the Ancients; his Remarks concerning the Savages of America; and his Letter on the Criminal Laws, and the Practice of Privateering; all of which may be found among his miscellanies that have been published. In short, to be generally useful, that he might be universally celebrated, seemed to be his ruling principle.

If we may judge from many parts of Dr. Franklin's writings, his character in private life must have been marked with all these finer feelings which are calculated to render mankind in general, and particularly ones friends and dependants happy. Upon every occasion he seems to have exerted himself to promote virtue, toleration, and liberality of sentiment; to excite a spirit of diligence and industry among his countrymen; to improve literature and science, and to advance the interests of humanity and universal benevolence. In a plan drawn up by him and Mr. Dalrymple

* See Priestley's *History of Electricity*, page 152.

for subscribing towards a voyage to civilize the inhabitants of New Zealand, * which had been discovered by Captain Cook to consist of two islands as large, taken together, as Great Britain, the Doctor, among other things, says: " Many voyages have been undertaken with views of profit or plunder, or to gratify resentment; to procure some advantage to ourselves, or to do some mischief to others: but a voyage is now proposed to visit a distant people on the other side of the globe; not to rob them, not to seize their lands, or enslave their persons; but merely to do them good, and make them, as far as in our power lies, to live as comfortably as ourselves."

" It seems a laudable wish that all the nations of the earth were connected by a knowledge of each other, and a mutual exchange of benefits: but a commercial nation particularly, should wish for a general civilization of mankind, since trade is always carried on to much greater extent with people who have the arts and conveniences of life, than it can be with naked savages. We may therefore hope in this undertaking, to be of some service to our country as well as to those poor people who, however distant from us, are in truth related to us, and whose interests do in some degree concern every one who can say *Homo sum, nil humani a me alienum puto.*"

These reflections certainly breathe the true spirit of that philosophical philanthropy which soaring to the utmost verge of the earth's boundaries, feels an interest in the fate of all mankind, wherever dispersed by the will of Heaven. His ideas too of the slave trade are a farther confirmation of the benevolence of his disposition. " Navigation," observes our Philosopher, " when employed in supplying

" necessary provisions for a country in want, and thereby preventing famines, which were more frequent and destructive before the invention of that art, is undoubtedly a blessing to mankind. When employed merely in transporting superfluities, it is a question whether the advantage of the employment it affords is equal to the mischief of hazarding so many lives on the ocean; but when employed in pilaging merchants, and transporting slaves, it is clearly the means of augmenting the miseries of human misery. It is amazing to think of the ships and lives risked in fetching tea from China, coffee from Arabia, sugar and tobacco from America, all which our ancestors did well without. Sugar employs near one thousand ships, tobacco almost as many. For the utility of tobacco there is little to be said; and for that of sugar, how much more commendable would it be if we could give up the few minutes gratification afforded once or twice a day by the taste of sugar in our tea, rather than encourage the cruelties exercised in producing it. An eminent French moralist says, that when he considers the wars we excite in Africa to obtain slaves, the numbers necessarily slain in those wars, the many prisoners who perish at sea by sickness, bad provisions, foul air, &c. &c. in the transportation, and how many afterwards die from the hardships of slavery, he cannot look on a piece of sugar without conceiving it stained with spots of human blood! Had he added the consideration of the wars we make to take and retake the sugar islands from one another, and the fleets and armies that perish in those expeditions, he might have seen his sugar not merely spotted, but thoroughly dyed scarlet in grain. It is these wars that make the mari-

* Dated August 29th, 1771. See his Political, Miscellaneous, and Philosophical Pieces, page 40.

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" time powers of Europe, the inhabitants of London and Paris, pay dearer for sugar than those of Vienna, a thousand miles from the sea, because their sugar costs not only the price they pay for it by the pound, but all they pay in taxes to maintain the fleets and armies that fight for it."*

If Dr. Franklin's fame is celebrated, and his name revered in America, they are no less so in France, which is perhaps in a great measure indebted to him for the liberty she has acquired by the late revolution.— "Thou venerable sage!" says the *Abbe Fauchet*,† "thou august philosopher! thou great cause of the happiness of thy country! thou promoter of the French liberty! thou prophet who hast foretold that unanimity which shall bind all the people of the earth, by what pleasure and satisfaction hath thy career been closed! From thy

" happy asylum, surrounded by thy brethren, who in peace enjoyed the fruits of thy virtues, and of the success of thy genius, thou hast rejoiced in the deliverance of mankind. With thy last looks thou hast beheld America flourishing around thee, France free beyond the ocean, and in a futurity not far distant, the universal happiness of the world. The united states, all thy children, bewail thee as the father of their republic. The French, thy family by adoption, honour thee as the reformer of their laws, and mankind, thy grand family, will revere thee as the universal patriarch, who hast formed an alliance between nature and society. The remembrance of thee belongs to all ages; thy memory to all nations; and thy glory to eternity."

DESCRIPTION OF A HIGHLAND VILLAGE.

WITH A BEAUTIFUL VIEW.

A HIGHLAND village consists generally of three, four, or more huts, or houses, built of earth or loose stones. They are covered with thin turf, cut from the surface of the ground, over which is placed a layer of straw or heath, fastened down with straw ropes, worked together in the form of a net, to prevent the wind from carrying it away. This second covering is intended to keep off the rain, which would otherwise soak through the turf, and when properly arranged, it answers the purpose tolerably well. These huts for the most part consist of two apart-

ments, one to sit, and the other to sleep in. They are separated by a partition of wicker-work, plastered over with clay, and in each there is a small aperture for the admission of the light, which is made so as to be shut by a piece of board that moves on leather hinges; the floor is composed of earth, and a hole in the roof in one end, in which is placed a square funnel of wood or wicker-work, daubed over with clay, gives vent to the smoke, which is oftentimes troublesome, that it renders them almost uninhabitable.

Near each hut is a smaller one for

* See the conclusion of a Letter from Dr. Franklin to Mr. Alphonse le Roy, Member of several Academies at Paris. This Letter was written when he was on his last passage to America.

† See *Eloge civique de Benjamin Franklin prononce, 21 le Juillet 1790 dans le rotonde au nom de la commune de Paris par M. L'Abbe Fauchet en presence de M. M. les Députés de l'Assemblée nationale, &c. &c. Paris, 1790*

‡ An account of Dr. Franklin's works, with some more anecdotes of him, will be given in our next.

the cow, if the family keep one, and another for sheep, if their circumstances enable them to possess such riches. The garden, which is usually situated behind the hut, is stocked with cabbages and potatoes, the principal part of their food. A spring in the neighbourhood supplies them with water; and their fuel, which consists of peat and turf, or the roots and branches of trees is piled up in some convenient spot not far distant.

These huts are not all built exactly in the same manner, as may be seen by Dr. Johnson's description, which is somewhat different:—"A Highland hut," says he, "is constructed with loose stones, ranged for the most part with some tendency to circularity. It must be placed where the wind cannot act upon it with violence, because it has no cement; and where the water will run easily away, because it has no floor but the naked ground. The wall, which is commonly about six feet high, declines from the perpendicular a little inward. Such rafters as can be procured are then raised for a roof, and covered with heath, which makes a strong and warm thatch, kept from flying off by ropes of twisted heath, of which the ends, reaching from the centre of the thatch to the top of the wall, are held firm by the weight of a large stone. No light is admitted but at the entrance, and through a hole in the thatch, which gives vent to the smoke. This hole is not directly over the fire, lest the rain should extinguish it; and the smoke therefore naturally fills the place before it escapes. Such is the general structure of the houses, in which one of the nations of this opulent and powerful island has been hitherto content to live. Huts, however, are not more uniform than palaces; and by the water side from the road near Loch-Ness, we espied a

cottage, which was very far from being one of the meanest, and as our business was life and manners, we were willing to visit it. To enter a habitation without leave seems not to be considered here as rudeness or intrusion. The old laws of hospitality still give this licence to strangers. When we entered, we found an old woman boiling goat's flesh in a kettle. She spoke little English, but we had interpreters at hand; and she was willing enough to display her whole system of economy. She had five children, of which none were yet gone from her. The eldest, a boy of thirteen, and her husband, who is eighty years old, were at work in the wood. Her two next sons were gone to Inverness to buy meal, by which oatmeal is always meant. Meal she considered as expensive food, and told us that in spring, when the goats gave milk, the children could live without it. She was mistress of sixty goats, and there were many kids in an inclosure at the end of her house; she had also some poultry. By the lake we saw a potatoe garden, and a small spot of ground, in which stood four shocks, containing each twelve sheaves of barley; she had all this from the labour of her own hands, and for what was necessary to be bought, her kids and her poultry were sent to market. With the true pastoral hospitality, she asked us to sit down and drink whisky. She was religious, and though the kirk was four miles off, probably eight English miles, she went thither every Sunday. We gave her a shilling, and she begged snuff; for snuff is the luxury of a Highland cottage."

The view given in the annexed plate represents a Highland village, on the Duke of Gordon's estate in the neighbourhood of Aviemore.

EXPERIMENTS AND OBSERVATIONS ON ELECTRICITY.

BY MR. W. NICHOLSON.

[Continued from Page 415, Vol. V.]

25. **S**OME of the luminous appearances, with balls in the positive state, have been slightly noticed as criterions of intensity. I shall here add, that the escape of negative electricity from a ball is attended with the appearance of strait sharp sparks, with a hoarse or chirping noise. When the ball was less than two inches in diameter, it was usually covered with short flames of this kind, which were very numerous.

26. When two equal balls were presented to each other, and one of them was rendered strongly positive, while the other remained in connection with the earth, the positive brush, or ramified spark, was seen to pass from the electrified ball: when the other ball was electrified negatively, and the ball, which before had been positive, was connected with the ground, the electricity (passing the same way according to FRANKLIN) exhibited the negative flame, or dense straight and more luminous spark, from the negative ball; and when the one ball was electrified *plus* and the other *minus*, the signs of both electricities appeared.

27. In drawing the long spark from a ball of four inches diameter, I found it of some consequence that the stem should not be too short, because the vicinity of the large prime conductor altered the disposition of the electricity to escape; I therefore made a set of experiments, the result of which shewed, that the disposition of balls to receive or emit electricity is greatest when they stand remote from other surfaces in the same state; and that between this greatest disposition in any ball, whatever may be its diameter, every possible less degree may be obtained by withdrawing the ball towards the broader or less convex

surface out of which its stem projects, until at length the ball, being wholly depressed beneath that surface, loses the disposition entirely. From these experiments it follows, that a variety of balls is unnecessary in electricity; because any small ball, if near the prime conductor, will be equivalent to a larger ball whose stem is longer.

28. From comparing some experiments, made by myself many years ago, with the present set, I considered a point as a ball of an indefinitely small diameter, and constructed an instrument consisting of a brass ball of six inches diameter, through the axis of which a stem, carrying a fine point, was screwed. When this stem is fixed in the prime conductor, if the ball be moved on its axis in either direction, it causes the fine point either to protrude through a small hole in its external surface, or to withdraw itself; because by this means the ball runs along the stem. The disposition of the point to transmit electricity may thus be made equal to that of any ball whatever, from the minutest size to the diameter of six inches.

29. The action of pointed bodies has been a subject of discussion ever since it was first discovered, and is not yet well explained. To those who ascribe this effect to the figure of electric atmospheres, and their disposition to fly off, it may be answered, that they ought first to prove their existence, and then shew why the cause which accumulated them does not prevent their escape; not to mention the difficulty of explaining the nature of negative atmospheres. If these be supposed to consist of electrified air, it will not be easy to shew why a current of air passing near a prime conductor does not destroy its effects. The opinion, supported

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by the celebrated VOLTA and others, that a point is the coating to an infinitely small plate of air, does not appear better founded; for such a plate must be broken through at a greater distance only because highly charged; whence it would follow, that points should not act but at high intensities. I must likewise take notice, as a proof that the charge has little to do here, that if a ball be presented to the prime conductor, at the same time that a point proceeds from the opposite side of the ball, the electricity will pass by the point, though it is obliged to go round the ball for that purpose; but it can hardly be doubted, that whatever charge obtains in this case is on the surface of the ball next the conductor, and not on the remote side to which the electricity directs its course.

30. ACHARD's experiments with a number of pointed cones, screwed in a plate of metal, and likewise the pointed apparatus described, shew that the effect of points depends on the remoteness of their extremities from the other parts of the conductor. This leads to the following general law:

In any electrified conductor the transition or escape of electricity will be made chiefly from that part of the surface which is the most remote from the natural state.

Thus in the apparatus of the ball and stem, the point having a communication with the rest of the whole conductor, constantly possesses the same intensity; but the influence of the surrounding surface of the ball diminishes its capacity. This diminution is less the farther the ball is withdrawn, and consequently the point will really possess more electricity, and be more disposed to give it out when it is prominent than when depressed. The same explanation serves for negative electricity.

31. The effect of a positive surface appears to extend farther than that of a negative: for the point acts like a ball when considerably more prominent if it be positive than it will

if negative. This property was used by me some years ago for the construction of an instrument to distinguish the two electricities.

32. When we consider that our machines can cause a ball of an inch and a half diameter to act like a point, and that our apparatus makes a point act like a ball; if at the same time we remark the small elevation of our conductors for lightning above the extended surface of the ground, and the small size of the balls proposed by some to be used as terminations; the dispute, which was so much agitated respecting them, will perhaps be found to relate to a very minute circumstance, among the many which govern the great operations of nature. It does not seem probable, that any conductor would act silently if the main course of the electricity of a negative cloud were to pass thro' it, and many would probably receive the stroke from a positive cloud. It does not, however, follow from this, that they might not conduct it with safety.

33. It is unnecessary to insist upon what is called the equilibrium of an electrical charge, because Dr. FRANKLIN has admirably explained it according to his hypothesis. But there is another important particular, which has been almost entirely overlooked, namely, the uncompensated electricity, which is as essential to the charge as that which is in equilibrio. Whenever a jar is charged, the greatest part of the electricity becomes latent on account of the compensation; but there is a certain proportion which remains on the insulated side, and exerts its force to prevent the electricity from returning to the outer surface. In moderate intensities, this will explode, and carry the charge with it, to distances which are in proportion to the quantity of the charge itself; but in greater intensities the distances greatly exceed that proportion. With glasses of different thicknesses, this intensity, as measured by the explosive spark, is as the thickness, when the charges are equal, as Mr. CAVENTH DETH

which has determined, and I find likewise by experiments with thin substances; but when the thicknesses are greater, it increases in a higher proportion, as is found by the explosion which takes place between the electrophore and its plate, as well as by other experiments.

34. This uncompensated part of the charge (which is commonly in proportion to the quantity of latent or compensated electricity, or to the distance at which it exerts its action) was found to be greatly increased when a series of jars were made to charge each other. If a jar be insulated and made to explode by LANE's electrometer at a determinate number of turns; and another jar be then connected with its external coating so as to become charged by that means, the explosion, from the outside of the last to the inside of the first, will take place at the electrometer (unaltered) with much fewer turns. Or if the electrometer be altered till the explosion takes place at the original number, the distance will be much greater than before. Hence we see, that the intensity of the uncompensated part must be greater when there is a greater charge to be maintained, whether it be on one surface only, or on two surfaces successively connected. I have not yet made the experiments necessary to ascertain the law of this last action.

35. It is evident, that the breaking of jars is not effected by any attraction between the electricities which form the charge, but by this necessary surplus: for thicker glasses require much less electricity to produce an intensity which breaks them than thinner do; and I found a piece of Muscovy talc, one hundredth part of an inch thick, to bear a charge consisting of ten times the quantity of electricity which was sufficient to have charged an equal surface of common glass so as to break it. But the intensity of the very dense charge on the talc was so low as to afford an explosion of no more than about one-tenth of an inch, while that of the glass jar it was compared

with exploded through about five inches.

The perforation of glass by the long spark, or by the spark through oil or cement, seems to depend on the very great intensity of the electricity which has not time to diffuse itself, but charges a minute part of the surface very high.

36. Muscovy talc being a very perfect non-conductor, and capable of being divided into plates of less thickness than one two-hundredth part of an inch, I made many experiments with it, which are too numerous to enter into this paper. In consequence of its great capacity it gives very strong shocks. Contrary to the assertion of BECCARIA, I found that its laminæ are naturally in strong opposite states of electricity, and flash to each other when torn asunder in the dark. A large piece being split in two, the parts were found to be in opposite states. The greatest care was taken in these experiments to avoid friction, and to use such pieces as had never been excited, nor brought near the machine.

37. The most plausible objection against the probability of danger from the returning stroke of the Earl of STANHOPE is, that the quantity of electricity in an animal is too small to produce any mischievous effect. This the noble author has answered by remarking, that the quantity has not been shewn to be small. My experiments with talc shewing that it naturally possesses much electricity, led me to investigate the quantity which a man may contain. I melted sealing-wax upon BENNET's electrometer with a burning glass, and found it produced no electricity either in heating or cooling. I also placed a piece of red-hot glass upon the same instrument, and it cooled without affording electric signs. These experiments shewed, that the natural quantity of electricity is the same in these bodies, whether they be in the conducting or non-conducting state; and consequently, if it can be proved, that an electric contains a

large quantity of electricity, the inference may be fairly extended to non-electrics. And it will not be disputed, upon any hypothesis, but that a non-conductor, or its coating, contains as much of what we call electricity as can be driven out of it in the act of charging. Two square inches of talc, of the thickness of $0,011$ inch, were repeatedly charged and made to explode over the uncoated part, by each turn of a seven-inch cylinder. The intensity of the excitation was such, that a conductor, of three feet long, and seven inches diameter, gave a dense spark of 9 inches long at each turn. Now, in round numbers 45 such plates of talc, laid upon each other, would have formed a solid inch of matter;

and from this, if fitted up as a BACARIA's battery, we could with our machine drive out electricity enough simply to charge a conductor 45 times as long (neglecting the ends); that is to say, we find that one solid inch of talc contains electricity enough to charge a conductor of 7 inches diameter, and 135 feet long, so high as to give a nine-inch spark at least, but how much more it contains we know not.

If it be here objected, that the talc does nothing more than separate the coatings, we may make use of gold leaf for our coating; which substance being (as I find by weight and measurement) no more than $\frac{1}{100000}$ of an inch thick, would increase the result near three thousand times.

EXPERIMENTS ON THE EXPANSIVE FORCE OF FREEZING WATER, MADE IN QUEBEC.

FROM THE EDINBURGH PHILOSOPHICAL TRANSACTIONS, COMMUNICATED IN A LETTER FROM DR. CHARLES HUTTON.

SIR,

THE following is an extract of a letter to me from Major Edward Williams, of the Royal Artillery, a learned man, and of great professional merit. Being at Quebec in some very cold winters, among various other ingenious experiments, it occurred to him to try the force of congelation on some of the iron bomb shells, by filling the cavity of the shell with water, and then, having plugged up the fuze hole, exposing it to the cold to freeze the water, in order to find whether the expansion of the ice would be capable of bursting the shell. The fuze-hole is conical, the opposites of which, when produced, meet at the extremity of the diameter, which passes through the middle of the hole.

He found that the iron plug could hardly be driven so firmly into the

fuze-hole as to resist the force of the expansion of the ice, which pushed it out with great velocity, and a bolt, or cylinder of ice, of a considerable height, immediately shot up from the hole. But when the plug was fixed in with springs, which laid hold of the inside of the cavity, so that the plug could not possibly be pushed out, the force of expansion then split the shell, and a plate of ice shot out quite around.

Extract from Major WILLIAMS's letter.

"These experiments were made on iron shells, from the 13-inch shell to the cohorns of 44 inches diameter, by filling the shell nearly with water, and driving in an iron plug with a sledge hammer.

Time,

Time,	Hour.	Barom.	Therm.	Wind.	Ele. of the fuze.	Weight of the plug, oz.	Distance
1784.							
Dec. 21	12 night.	29.66	— 10	Westerly.	90	35	Unknown
22	10 A. M.	29.69	— 3	Easterly.	90	37.25	23 feet
23	9 P. M.	29.80	— 16	W.	90	34.5	Unknown
24	11 A. M.	29.141	— 6	W.	80	39.25	62
25	11 A. M.	29.60	— 18	W.	45	39.25	387
1785.							
Jan. 2	5 A. M.	29.96	— 19	W.	45	41.75	415
4	7 A. M.	29.46	— 12	W.	45	42	Burst
9	9 A. M.	29.35	— 4	W.	45	40.5	325

R E M A R K S.

“ Dec. 21.—The fuze-axis of the shell lay nearly perpendicular to the horizon. On examining the effect, about nine o'clock, the following day, I observed the plug gone, and a cylinder of ice, of four inches and a half high, rising perpendicular from the fuze-hole, and of equal diameter. I searched carefully for the plug, but could not find it, as there was about three feet and a half of snow on the ground.

“ 22.—I watched this shell about an hour, when, being called out on business, I found on my return, three hours after, the plug gone, and the ice cylinder two inches and a quarter high. Plug lost.

“ 23.—I had a plug made, jagged or notched along the sides, to prevent its being forced out so easily; and watched the shell for upwards of three hours, going into the house at intervals, to warm myself. The last time I went in was about half an hour after twelve, when, after a few minutes, I heard a sort of hissing sound, upon which running out, the plug was gone, and a cylinder of ice shot up, exceeding any of the former, being six inches and a half high. Plug lost.

“ 24.—A similar plug to the last. I watched this with more success; for although absent at intervals, yet at half past four in the afternoon, therm. at 60, I saw the plug suddenly forced out by the column of ice, accompanied by the hissing noise, and observing its fall, I found it at 62 feet from the shell. The icy cylinder was four inches high, and the fuze-axis of the shell I found lay nearly at the angle of 90°, with the horizon.

“ 31.—Concluding from the foregoing experiments, that no plug could be so fixed, as to render the resistance at the fuze-hole greater than at the weakest part of the shell, in which case I supposed it would burst, which was the primary object in these experiments, I thought it might be worth while to observe how far the force of congelation would project a plug of a given weight and figure, and forced in with the same number of strokes of the sledge hammer. For this purpose, I placed the fuze-axis of the shell at an angle of 45° with the horizon, and on the 31st of December 1784, being the coldest day of this year the plug was projected; whilst I was absent, a cylinder was shot out, in the direction of the axis of seven inches and a quarter, and not inclining in the least from that direction to the horizon. The plug was lost.

“ Jan. 2. 1785.—Being colder than the 31st of December, in order to hasten the effect, I put a mixture of common salt and sal ammoniac to the water, and tied a long pack-thread, with a piece of red rag at its end, to the fuze, in order to find where it fell in the snow. This plug made its escape like the rest, for at half past six it was flown, and a cylinder of eight inches and a half of ice standing over the fuze-hole, the plug was lost; for the red rag appeared no where on the surface of the snow.

“ 4.—Tried a plug made with springs, in the manner of a searcher, only very short and strong. Added the freezing mixture. The shell gave a sudden crack at a quarter after nine, and instantly shot from its surface two thin plates of ice, resembling fins, about two inches in the highest parts,

On examining the shell, I found it burst, and the plug forced up about half an inch; and, on breaking the shell, the springs were considerably bent, so as not to have recovered their first situation.

9. "Repeated the last experiment, with a similar plug and the freezing mixture. It was thrown out, as before, and the projecting icy cylinder was $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches high.

"Similar experiments were afterwards made with all the lesser shells; yet, though one or more of each sort were actually burst, more plugs were projected than produced that effect. As soon as the snow began to disappear from the surface, I searched carefully for the plugs, and found six of them; which, being all marked with notches after the first experiment, I easily formed from them the following table:

Plug, No. 1. Dec. 22.	22 feet	$3\frac{1}{2}$ to
		the right of the
		line of direction.
3.	24. 62	5 left.
4.	31. 387	$2\frac{1}{2}$ right.
5. Jan. 2.	415	$3\frac{1}{2}$ right.
6.	4.	Shell burst.
7.	9. 325	$4\frac{1}{2}$ left.

"Such was the result of these experiments, from which I leave it to you to draw conclusions. I intend to pursue them again this winter; and, if you can suggest any ideas on the subject that can reach Canada before March 1786, I shall be glad to avail myself of them.

"ED. WILLIAMS."

REMARKS ON THE PRECEDING EXTRACT, BY CHA. HUTTON, L. L. D.

FROM these ingenious experiments, we may draw several conclusions. As, First, We hence observe the amazing force of the expansion of the ice, or the water, in the act of freezing; which is sufficient to overcome, perhaps, any resistance whatever; and

the consequence seems to be, either that the water will freeze, and, by expanding, burst the containing body, be it ever so thick and strong; or else, if the resistance of the containing body exceed the expansive force of the ice, or of water in the act of freezing, then, by preventing the expansion, it will prevent the freezing, and the water will remain fluid, whatever the degree of cold may be.

The amazing force of congelation is also obvious from the distance to which the iron plugs were projected. For, if we consider the very small time that the force of expansion acts on the plug in pushing it out, and that the plug, of $2\frac{5}{8}$ lb. weight, was projected with a velocity of more than 20 feet in a second of time, and thrown to the distance of 415 feet by this force; so acting, the intensity of the force will appear to be truly astonishing.

Adly, We may hence form an estimate of the quantity which the water expands by freezing. For the longest cylinder of ice was observed to be $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches without the hole; to this add $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch, the thickness of the metal, or length of the hole, and the sum, or 10 inches, is the whole length of the cylinder of ice, the diameter of which is $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch; and hence its solid content is $1.7^2 \times 10 \times .7854$ cubic inches.

But the diameter of the spherical cavity, filled with water, is $9\frac{1}{16}$ inches; and therefore $9.1^3 \times \frac{4}{3} \times .7854$ is the content of the water in cubic inches.

Hence then the content of the water is to the increase by expansion, as $\frac{2}{3}$ of 9.1^3 to ten times 1.7^2 , or as 502, 4 to 28.9, or as 174 to 10. So that the water, in this instance, expanded in freezing, by a quantity which is between the 17th and 18th part of itself.

C. H.

NATURAL HISTORY OF THE ELEPHANT.

THE Elephant surpasses all other terrestrial animals in size; and, by his intelligence, makes the nearest approach to man. He possesses the sagacity

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sagacity of the beaver, the address of the ape, and the sentiment of the dog. Men in all ages have had a great veneration for this grand animal; but the ancients, and many of the moderns, have greatly exaggerated his faculties. The Indians, who believe in the metempsychosis, are still persuaded that so majestic a body must be animated with the soul of a great man, or king; and in some places are regarded as the living *manes* of the Indian emperors.

Without giving credit to any of these fictions, this animal is highly entitled to our regard. Whether we view him in the state of nature, or of servitude, he is equally worthy of attention.

When wild, the elephants are neither sanguinary or ferocious, and never exert or use their strength but to defend themselves or their companions. They are social in manners, being seldom seen alone, but generally in troops, the oldest leading, and the young and feeble placed in the middle. The mothers carry their young firmly embraced in their trunks. This order is only observed in perilous marches; in deserts and forests they travel with less precaution, and those who stray from the troop are the only ones the hunters dare mark: This is attended with great danger, for they run straight at the offender, and although the weight of their bodies be great, their steps are so long that they easily overtake the most active man. When they do, they transfix him with their tusks, or laying hold of him by their trunk, throw him against a stone, and trample him under their feet. This, however, is only when provoked, but they are extremely sensible of injuries; and travellers who frequent the countries they inhabit, kindle fires to prevent their approach. When they have once been attacked, they never forget, but take every opportunity of revenge. As their sense of smelling is very acute, the smell of a man reaches them at a distance, and they easily follow him by the scent. They are fond of the banks of rivers,

and shady moist places. They cannot dispense with water, which they trouble before they drink; they afterwards fill their trunk with it, either to carry to their mouths, or amuse themselves by sprinkling it around. They are greatly susceptible of heat and cold, and to avoid the heat of the sun, retire to the shady recesses of the forests. They frequently take to the water, and the enormous size of their bodies seems rather to aid than retard their swimming, and the length of their trunk, through which they breathe, secures them from the danger of drowning.

They feed on roots, herbs, leaves, and tender wood, sometimes grain and fruit, but will not touch fish or flesh. They require a great quantity of sustenance, and are therefore often necessitated to change their place of pasture. If they stray into cultivated places, they do incredible damage, and for this reason the natives use every artifice to prevent their approach, but still they sometimes pay them a visit, and nothing can stop them but artificial fires or crackers, which, from the sudden and repeated noises, sometimes induce them to turn back.

When the females are in season, they separate from society, and retire in pairs to secret places. They have never yet been detected in their amours. The female goes with young two years, and produces only one at a time, which has teeth from the moment of its birth, as large as a wild boar, but no appearance of horns or trunk, which begin to shoot at the age of six months. At this time the animal is about the size of an ox, and if the creature enjoys health and liberty, the tusks continue to grow until an advanced age.

They are easily rendered tame and submissive, and as easily instructed, but still seem to feel the disgust arising from their state of slavery. They feel the most lively impressions of love, but never intermix or produce young in a domestic state; hence hereditary slavery in an elephant has never been known.

known. While they feel this passion they are ungovernable, and it has been found necessary to separate the males from the females.

The method of taking and taming them is worthy of particular notice. In places where they frequent, a spot of ground is surrounded with palisades, the stakes of which are composed of the strongest trees, an opening is left for the elephant to enter, and over the door is a strong bar to fall, which is shut after the animal passes. The hunters carry into the forest a tame elephant in season, and when they imagine themselves near enough to be heard, her governors make her utter the usual cry. The wild male replies, and hastens to join her. She is then made to enter the inclosure, and the male follows. As soon as he perceives himself surrounded, his ardour is changed into fury. Ropes and fetters are thrown round his legs and trunk. Two or three tame elephants are brought to him, to one of which they endeavour to fix him, and either by force, torture, or caresses, he is tamed in a few days. The method of taking them varies, and in some places they effect it by digging pits, and covering them with branches of trees: when the creature falls into these holes, they are too deep for him to get out.

When tamed, this creature is one of the most gentle and obedient of animals, is fond of his keeper, caresses him, and even anticipates his commands; he soon comprehends signs and sounds, and can distinguish the tones of command, anger, and approbation. He never mistakes the voice of his master, and executes his orders with attention, and without precipitation, for his movements are all marked with gravity. He soon learns to bend the knee for to accommodate those who are to mount him. He caresses his friend with his trunk, salutes any person with it, and employs it to raise burthens, and assist in loading himself. He will draw chariots, ploughs, &c. and never grows resentive, unless ill treated. The man who

guides him rides on his neck, and uses an iron rod, sharp at the end, with which he pricks his head, or the sides of his ears; but a short time after he is tamed, words alone are sufficient. Their attachment to the person who guides them is extraordinary.

Although this animal produces but one young one in two or three years, the species are numerous, which seems to arise from their extraordinary longevity. They are numerous both in Africa and Asia, are very faithful to their country, and do not change their climate. They were formerly unknown in Europe;—the Indians have employed them in war in very early ages; but the change in that art has rendered them rather dangerous than useful: there are, however, war elephants still kept by the Indian kings, more for show than utility. These princes likewise employ them in labour, and in transporting their women. In places where fire arms are little known, they still fight with elephants. At Tunquin, Siam, and Pego, the kings ride on elephants richly cloathed and caparisoned. In this rich attire they seem greatly to delight.

In Africa they appear more numerous than in Asia, but the natives of the first named place are not so easily tamed; the latter generally exceed in size: in this point of magnitude those of Ceylon are certainly the superior. Their strength is in proportion to their magnitude; those of India can carry three or four thousand pounds weight, and can raise two hundred weight with their trunks. Their prodigious strength may also be conceived by the quickness of their motion; they can run as fast as a horse can gallop, and if pushed will travel thirty or forty leagues a day. To perform this, they must be kept in full vigour, which will require a hundred pounds of rice, besides fresh herbage, and must be permitted to bathe twice or thrice a day.

The elephant is generally ash coloured, or blackish; white or red elephants are very scarce, and highly valued.

valued. The eye of this beast is small, lively, and brilliant, but strongly expressive of sentiment; he appears to reflect and deliberate. His ears are good, they are very large, and longer in proportion than those of an ass, but lie flat to his head, like human ears. He delights in the sound of music, and will move in cadence to the trumpet and tabour. His sense of smelling is exquisite, and he is particularly fond of perfumes and odoriferous plants and flowers. His sense touch is chiefly confined to the trunk, which he can

move, bend, contract, and turn on all sides; in this member the feeling is as delicate as in the human hand. The extremity of the trunk terminates in a protuberance in form of a finger, and is useful to the same purpose. The sense of smelling is also in the trunk, by means of two apertures.

Were we to enter further into the description of this wonderful animal, we should exceed our limits in this number, but shall resume it, and lay some further curious particulars before our readers in our next.

HISTORICAL ANECDOTE CONCERNING THE DEATH OF DEMETRIUS, KING OF MACEDON.

WHEN Demetrius, king of Macedonia, in his war with Seleucus, was abandoned by his army, and betrayed, finding an escape to be impracticable, he determined to surrender to his enemy. To him therefore he sent notice of his design. When the latter heard of his intention, he gave the necessary orders for his reception, and broke out before his whole court in these words, "It is not the fortune of Demetrius which has thus provided for his safety, but mine, which hath been watchful for my glory. I thank her more for this than for all the favours she has done me, because I esteem an act of clemency more honourable than any victory." The many noble and generous things said by Seleucus, in this high flown tone of fortune, inclined many of his courtiers to believe that Demetrius would become the chief favourite of the king. They immediately determined to go and pay their court to him, as soon as he should come into the quarters of Seleucus. Apollonides, who had been formerly a courtier in the palace of Antigonus, was sent to meet Demetrius, and when he had brought him to the village assigned, almost the whole court of Seleucus went to pay their compliments to his father-in-law. When the ministers about Seleucus, who hated Demetrius, perceived this, they instantly put him in mind of the dangerous consequences

which might attend his nobles and commanders entering into a familiarity with a person of so dexterous address, and such surprizing intrepidity. These insinuations had the effect desired by those who made them, insomuch that while Demetrius was entertaining his old acquaintance and new friends, *Pausanias*, with a guard of a thousand horse, came to conduct him, not as he hoped, to the presence of Seleucus, but to a castle in a demy-island, where he remained a prisoner. Seleucus, when he had provided for his own security, did all that could be thought of to make confinement easy to Demetrius. He ordered him royal entertainment within doors, a fine stable of horses, and the use of a noble park without. To give him a right relish of these pleasures, hopes were cherished, and promises of liberty intermixed, which were all made to depend on the coming of *Antiochus* and *Stratonice*, to whom the conditions on which this freedom was to be obtained, were referred. All other arts were practised to amuse Demetrius, and to divert his cares. At first he suffered himself to be deluded, and hoped that after a time Seleucus would see him; but when he found this protracted, and that excuse succeeded excuse, he penetrated the design of his politic son-in-law, and, without giving into vain expectations, sought, by all methods, to make his life as little tedious to him

as might be. Hunting was for a while his chief diversion; but by degrees he quitted it, to give himself up to feasting and carousing, that, in wine and pleasant conversation, the memory of past greatness and present sorrows might be drowned; so hard a thing it is for those, who pretend to fight for repose, to enjoy it, when they acquire it either in consequence of their victories, or through the mere bounty of Providence; and so much wiser it is to moderate our desires, than to place all hopes in their gratification.

Demetrius found by fatal experience, that mirth and wine were no cures for grief; for while by them he sought to stifle his concern, the struggle between resentment, and a desire to conceal it, added to his high living, induced a distemper, which, when he had been a prisoner three years, carried him off in the fifty-fourth year of his age. Thus died this active prince, who had so often been at the top, and so frequently at the bottom of Fortune's wheel. His death delivered Seleucus from all apprehensions, and not only him but others; for his great accomplishments, his singular address, his taking presence, and, above all, his extraordinary military skill, made him always formidable, though his forces were ever so weak, and the places in his possession ever so few.

While *Demetrius* lay in prison, many princes and states, moved with the distress of so great a prince, sued to Seleucus for his liberty; *Lyrimachus* only was base enough to offer him a vast sum of money to put him to death; which, with the highest indignation, *Seleucus* refused, affirming that neither envy, nor any ancient antipathy, inclined him to confine *Demetrius*, but only a regard for his own safety, and a just attention to reasons of state. As *Demetrius* had rendered himself very remarkable for his filial piety towards his father, so

his son *Antigonus* manifested as laudable affection towards him; for notwithstanding the letter his father had wrote him, might, in the opinion of the world, have freed him from all censure, yet did he offer *Seleucus*, not only all that he held in *Greece*, but his own person in hostage for his father's liberty, but this was refused. However *Antigonus* continued earnestly to solicit it by the most pressing and passionate letters, as long as *Demetrius* lived, going in deep mourning during that space, and never once partaking of any feasts or diversions while his father was in prison. As soon as he understood his father's ashes were coming from *Syria*, he sailed with a noble fleet to the *Archipelago* to meet them.

He then deposited them in an urn of gold, which, when he entered the harbour of *Corinth*, he placed in the poop of the royal galley, set his crown upon it, and covered it with a canopy of purple, himself standing by, clad in deep mourning, and his eyes red with tears. Most of the cities in *Greece* sent chaplets to crown the urn, and deputations of their prime citizens to assist at the funeral. All the trophies of honour were left at *Corinth*, where the ceremony was performed; but the urn itself was transported to *Demetria*, a city to which the late king had given his name, which had been built under his direction, and peopled by his command out of the villages in the neighbourhood of *Solbos*. Thus in his death he was more happy than in his life; for all concurred in honouring the memory of those virtues which were no longer dreadful to them, and which heretofore filled them with apprehensions on account of the restless ambition which, while he was living, accompanied them in the breast of the possessor, and which was held unextinguishing but by death.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE RELIGIOUS SECT OF SEEKS, AT PATNA, IN
A LETTER FROM CHARLES WILKINS, ESQ. TO THE SECRETARY OF
THE ASIATIC SOCIETY.

FROM THE ASIATIC RESEARCHES.

I Found the college of the Seekers situated in one of the narrow streets of Patna, at no very considerable distance from the custom-house. I was permitted to enter the outward gate, but as soon as I came to the steps which led up to the chapel, or public hall, I was civilly accosted by two of the society. I asked them if I might ascend into the hall; they said it was a place of worship, open to me and to all men, intimated at the same time that I must take off my shoes. As I considered this ceremony in the same light as uncovering my head upon entering any of our temples dedicated to the Deity, I did not hesitate to comply, and I was then politely conducted into the hall, and seated upon a carpet in the midst of the assembly, which was so numerous as almost to fill the room. The whole building forms a square of about forty feet, raised from the ground about six or eight steps. The hall is in the center, divided from four other apartments by wooden arches, upon pillars of the same materials, all neatly carved. This room is rather longer than it is broad. The floor was covered with a neat carpet, and furnished with six or seven old desks, on which stood as many of the books of their law, and the walls, above the arches, were hung with European looking-glasses, in gold frames, and pictures of Mussulman princes, and Hindoo deities. A little room which, as you enter, is situated at the left hand end of the hall, is the chancel, and is furnished with an altar covered with a cloth of gold, upon which was laid a round black shield over a long broad sword, and on either side, a choury of peacock's feathers, mounted in a silver handle. The altar was raised a little above the ground, in a declining position. Be-

fore it stood a low kind of throne, plated with silver, but rather too small to be useful; about it were several silver flower-pots and rose water bottles, and on the left hand stood three small urns, which appeared to be copper, furnished with niches to receive the donations of the charitable. There stood also near the altar, on a low desk, a great book of a folio size, from which some portions are daily read in their divine service. It was covered over with a blue mantle, on which were printed, in silver letters, some select passages of their law.

After I had a long conversation with two of the congregation, who had politely seated themselves on each side of me, on the carpet, and whom I found very intelligent, notice was given, that it was noon, and the hour of divine service. The congregation arranged themselves upon the carpet, on each side of the hall, so as to leave a space before the altar from end to end. The great book, desk, and all, was brought with some little ceremony from the altar, and placed at the opposite extremity of the hall. An old man, with a reverend silver beard, kneeled down before the desk, with his face towards the altar; and on one side of him sat a man with a small drum, and two or three with cymbals. The book was now opened, and the old man began to chant to the time of the drum and cymbals; and at the conclusion of every verse, most of the congregation joined chorus in a response, with countenances exhibiting great marks of joy. Their tones were by no means harsh; the time was quick; and I learnt that the subject was a hymn in praise of the unity, the omnipresence, and the omnipotence of the Deity. I was singularly delighted with the gestures of the old

man: I never saw a countenance so expressive of infelt joy, whilst he turned about from one to another, as it were, bespeaking their assents to those truths, which his very soul seemed to be engaged in chanting forth. The hymn being concluded, which consisted of about twenty verfes, the whole congregation got up and presented their faces with joined hands towards the altar, in the attitude of prayer. A young man now stood forth, and with a loud voice, and distinct accent, solemnly pronounced a long prayer or kind of liturgy, at certain periods of which all the people joined in a general response, saying *Wa Gooro!* They prayed against temptation; for grace to do good; for the general good of mankind; and a particular blessing to the Sects; and for the safety of those who at that time were on their travels. This prayer was followed by a short blessing from the old man, and an invitation to the assembly to partake of a friendly feast. The book was then closed and restored to its place at the altar, and the people being seated as before, two men entered, bearing a large iron cauldron, called a curry, just taken from the fire, and placed in the center of the hall, upon a low stool. These were followed by others with five or six dishes, some of which were of silver, and a large pile of leaves fewed together with fibres, in the form of plates. One of these plates was given to each of the company without distinction, and the dishes being filled from the cauldron, the contents were served out till every one had got his share; myself was not forgotten, and as I was resolved not to give them the smallest occasion for offence, I ate up my portion. It was a kind of sweetmeat, of the consistence of soft brown sugar, composed of flour and sugar, mixed up with clarified butter, which is called ghee. Had not the ghee been rancid, I should have relished it better. We were next served with a few sugar-plumbs; and here ended the feast and the ceremonies

of the day. They told me the religious part of the ceremony was daily repeated five times. I now took my leave, inviting some of the principal men amongst them, who were about to return to their own country through Benares, to pay me a visit.

In course of the conversation I was engaged in with the two Sects before the service, I was able to gather the following circumstances:—That the founder of their faith was called Naneek Sah, who flourished about four hundred years ago at Punjab, and who, before his apostacy, was a Hindoo of the Kshetry, or military tribe; and that his body disappeared as the Hindoos and Mussulmans were disputing for it; for upon their moving the cloth which covered it, it was gone. That he left behind him a book, composed by himself, in verse, and the language of Punjab, but a character partly of his own invention; which teaches the doctrines of the faith he had established. That they call this character, in honour of their founder, Gooroo-Mookhee, from the mouth of the Preceptor; that this book, of which that standing near the altar, and several others in the hall, were copies, teaches that there is but one God, omnipotent and omnipresent; filling all space, and pervading all matter; and that he is to be worshipped and invoked. That there will be a day of retribution, when virtue will be rewarded and vice punished, (I forgot to ask in what manner,) that it not only commands universal toleration, but forbids disputes with those of another persuasion. That it forbids murder, theft, and such other deeds as are, by the majority of mankind, esteemed crimes against society; and inculcates the practice of all the virtues, but particularly an universal philanthropy, and a general hospitality to strangers and travellers. This is all my short visit would permit me to learn of this book. It is a folio volume, containing about four or five hundred pages.

They told me further, that some years after this book of Naneek Sah had

had been promulgated, another made its appearance, now held in almost as much esteem as the former. The name of the author has escaped my memory; but they favoured me with an abstract from the book itself in praise of the Deity. The passage had struck my ear on the first entering the hall, when the students were all engaged in reading. From the similarity of the language to the Hindooee, and many Shancrit words, I was able to understand a good deal of it, and I hope, at some future period, to have the honour of laying a translation of it before the society. They told me I might have copies of both their books, if I would be at the expence of transcribing them.

I next enquired why they were called *Seeks*, and they told me it was a word borrowed from one of the commandments of their founder, which signifies "Learn thou;" and that it was adopted to distinguish the sect soon after he disappeared. The word, as is well known, has the same import in the Hindooee.

I asked them what were the ceremonies used in admitting a profelyte. A person having shewn a sincere inclination to renounce his former opinions, to any five or more *Seeks* assembled together, in any place, as well on the highway as in a house of

worship, they send to the first shop where sweetmeats are sold, and procure a small quantity of a particular sort, which is very common, and, as I recollect, they call *Batasa*, and having diluted it in pure water, they sprinkle some of it on the body, and into the eyes of the convert, whilst one of the best instructed repeats to him, in any language with which he is conversant, the chief canons of their faith, exacting from him a solemn promise to abide by them the rest of his life. This is the whole of the ceremony. The new convert may then choose a *gooroo*, or preceptor, to teach him the language of their scriptures, who first gives him the alphabet to learn, and so leads him on by slow degrees, until he wants no instruction. They offered to admit me into the society, but I declined the honour, contenting myself with the alphabet, which they told me to guard as the apple of mine eye, as it was a sacred character. I find it differs but little from the *Dewnagur*; the number, order, and powers of the letters are exactly the same. The language itself is a mixture of Persian, Arabic, and some Shancrit, grafted upon the provincial dialect of *Punjab*, which is a kind of Hindooee, or, as it is vulgarly called by us, *Moors*.

JOURNEY FROM NEW ORLEANS TO MEXICO, PART OF A TOUR ROUND THE WORLD, BY PAGES, CAPTAIN IN THE FRENCH NAVY, KNIGHT OF THE ORDER OF ST. LOUIS, AND CORRESPONDENT OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES.

[Continued from page 421, VOL. V.]

JOURNEY FROM NACHITOCHES, TO THE FIRST POSTS OF THE SPANIARDS IN MEXICO.

I REMAINED only three days at Nachitoches, and prepared to pass among the Spaniards. I took one to conduct me, who was as dark and unpolished as a savage. He was very ragged, and gave me but an unfa-

vourable idea of the Creoles of his nation. He lent me a horse to carry my baggage, which for convenience I had packed in three bear-skins. One I designed to serve me as a bed, another for a coverlid, and the third to preserve my effects from the rain in those uninhabited countries which I afterwards designed to cross. We set out from Nachitoches

the Adais in the evening, and travelled in the night.

About half way, finding ourselves, a little fatigued, we repos'd some minutes, and my guide thought he gave me a great treat, by sharing with me a bit of bread, of about four ounces at most, made of Indian corn: After this repast we resumed our journey. We had some difficulty in walking on a road but little used, on rough ground, darkened by the woods we passed through, and often stopped by old trees, fallen by time and rotteness. Often, as I led the horse, which carried my effects, by the bridle, darkness, or the windings it was necessary to take, made us lose the way; so that we did not arrive at the hut of a good Indian Christian till about three in the morning.

He received me well, and carefully concealed my effects, being fearful they might be looked upon as contraband, and he afterwards very faithfully returned them to me. I slept on my bearskins in a corner of his house, which however scarcely deserves that name, having only some stakes to support the roof, and serve for a wall, two thirds of which were falling by age. As soon as day appeared, his family, who slept on a bed by my side, paid their compliments, and prepared something for me to eat. I saw my host was not opulent, I offered them either linen or money to get me some food. They preferred the linen, but could not find any Indian corn until next day, and that in a small quantity. I was however extremely hungry, and pressed them to get more; they assured me the post was destitute of it. This was the first time in my life I ever felt real want; and it caused me to make some disagreeable reflections. I determined however to seek some persons in the village more industrious, and at their ease. I at last went to lodge with an officer of soldiers, who, though not sumptuous in his living, had something to eat. I was however more than once pressed by hunger in my new lodg^ging.

This post consists of about forty bad houses, composed of stakes driven into the ground. They are situated on the declivity of a little hill; the top of which is occupied by a large square, surrounded by trees fixed in the earth, which, like that at Natchez, serves as a fort. They call these forts or redoubts *préfédio*. The houses of the village are scattered round it on the west side. On the same side, a little valley separates the village from another height rather more considerable, on which stands a convent of Franciscans and the church; these, with some scattered trees, and a place cleared of trees, but filled with brambles and briars, of about a quarter of a league broad, and surrounded with wood, form the whole of this landscape.

The land is almost destitute of water, and very dry, which, joined to the laziness of the inhabitants, makes them sometimes in want of mere necessaries, and these consist only of maize. This they boil with lime, to soften the skin and grain. After having well washed, they bruise it upon a chocolate stone, and having moistened it properly, make a paste, which they knead with their hands. They afterwards make cakes of it, very thin and pretty broad, which they lay on a very thin sheet of iron to bake. This is the primitive food of the inhabitants of New Spain, and those cakes, which they call *tortillas*, are pretty good when they are well made. The inhabitants of this post are almost all horse soldiers, and live on the king's allowance, which is a dollar per diem; but, either by the expence which their cloathing comes to, on account of the distance, being brought from Mexico, or by their idleness, which compels them to go a great way for their provisions, it is scarcely sufficient for their support.

They pass their leisure time either in recounting their exploits in fight, or the obstacles they have to overcome in uncultivated countries; or else they mount their horses to visit

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and tame their flocks, afterwards they amuse themselves at play. They, for the most part, possess the remains of a robust body, but ruined either by their excursions on horseback, in the service against those savages they call Mecos, or by some remains of their gallantries. They are always ready to do a good service, humane, compassionate, and brave; are very hospitable, and, although pressed by hunger, they will divide their last morsel with the first comer; but they are, at the same time, proud, liars, and thieves, either from want or curiosity. I have remarked that this disposition to theft was common to them, with all other savages. I can assign no other source for it, than an impulse planted in them by nature, to satisfy their desires and wants. They may be justified in it by that kind of community of goods which nature points out to them, as well for their advantage as their disadvantage; but savages easily correct their faults.

These half Spaniards, half Indians, are habited very fantastically. They wear a kind of upper coat without sleeves, and breeches without seam, laced in the common way, but the parts of which are held together by buttons of gold or silver. When they are on horseback, they wear a large riding hood, or a kind of cape, round at bottom, and ornamented at the neck, with five or six rows of large lace. In this dress they are sometimes destitute of hat or shirt; and sometimes this cloathing, even without being much worn, is torn and in tatters by the stumps and other parts of trees they meet with in the woods. They wear stockings of skins, shoes also of skin, the upper part of which are cut in strips to leave a passage to the air, or to mud or dust. Their heels are loaded with two spurs of at least six inches long, the rowel alone being above two inches. When on their horses, which they know very well how to manage, they put me in mind of the ancient chivalry. Their arms are composed of a cuirass of deer skins, a buckler, a cut and thrust

sword, and a carbine. Two little leather bags, hanging on the fore part of the saddle, hold their provisions; the leathers, and the stock of the saddle, serve them for mattras and pillow. This stock also is used as a rest for their carbine, which serves as a pillar to a kind of tent which they form with their large riding hood. Their saddles are covered with leather well worked, ornamented with different designs stamped upon them, and they are garnished all round with small loose pieces of brass, which, striking against each other by the motion of the horse, sound like so many little bells. I was surprized to see two enormous stirrups, weighing near fifty pounds, formed by four thick bars of iron placed crossways, in such a manner, that the spaces necessary for the horseman's feet are formed at the junction of the arms of the cross; they are about four to five fingers long, and about four lines, or one third of an inch thick. The length of the upright of this cross is almost triple that of the bars, and I cannot better explain it, than by two cards which children set up against each other to make their castles. These singular stirrups are very proper, by their weight, to recover a horseman when he totters, and to keep his feet in that position which the attitude of a good rider requires; but it is necessary to be used to these, for, the first day I rode with them, I had my ankles much strained and swelled. They may also be of use to a horse sufficiently vigorous not to be affected by their weight, their swinging being a counterpoise below to the weight of the horseman above. The bits of their bridles are also very good; they are formed into a long square, go deep into the mouth of the horse, and I have since observed, that they are like those used by the Arabs, who are very intelligent in these matters.

I gained as much information as was possible respecting the road to Mexico, which place they told me was five hundred and fifty leagues distant.

The

The second establishment is two hundred and fifty leagues from this, by a way which sometimes is not easily discovered, and across many rivers, the passage of which is very dangerous. They assured me, that, although the savages and soldiers can make this passage, two or three together, yet it was impossible to do it with less than ten or twelve persons if they had baggage to carry with them. I saw with grief that I could not make this journey but in a large company; this obliged me to stay for some other travellers, to join them. I accordingly waited.

I learned some time after, that the old governor of this province, ordered to Mexico, on account of some dispute with the new governor, was fallen sick at a settlement called Naquedoch. I determined to set off and join him, and wait his recovery and departure. I bought a horse, and had my baggage carried on some mules belonging to the soldiers of his escort, who having come to procure a fresh supply of provisions, were returning to join him.

The person I engaged to guide me, was an *bon/ſt rogue* from Mexico. He behaved well to me apparently, but interest was his only guide. He let the mule, which carried my baggage, stray into the woods; I have no doubt on purpose to have an excuse to search for it, and, during my absence, a sufficient interval to rob me of some linen, which it is probable he hid among the bushes.

The soil we passed over was various, composed of little elevations of ground pretty extensive, and of large valleys. In these valleys we saw meadows full of a herb remarkably high, and which apparently were marshy in winter. The elevations were occupied by woods, of different sorts of trees, in the moist grounds, and by very high and large pines in the dry ones. I was surprised to see a large quantity of pines laying on the ground, so black that, when trod on, they looked as if they had been burned, and like charcoal ashes upon the ground. I remarked the same thing of some

that were standing, but which were very old. At the surface of the earth the foot of the tree becomes black, is reduced to powder, and losing its support, by degrees, falls. I could not discover the reason of it; it is not caused by rottenness, for the weather, the soil, and the body of the tree, were extremely dry: perhaps it may be occasioned by their being drained of their moisture. In continuing our route, we saw some deer, and a sort of small wolves or wild dogs, of a middling size, and slender; they make a noise different from the dogs and wolves of Europe, but are great cowards, and in great number.

Although I paid my companions in this journey pretty well, considering the country, a false delicacy made me always take a share with them in their labours, as far as my strength would permit. Since I left New Orleans I had slept out of doors; the nights were become cool, the days were in comparison very hot; this, added to fatigue, brought on a fever, with which I was attacked about thirty leagues from Adæs. This continued until I reached Naquedoch. I know not how I escaped breaking my neck, either by falling from my horse, or by striking against the branches of the trees we met with in the way. When the fever attacked me, a giddiness of the brain almost took away my senses. We could not stop, being obliged to reach some rivulet before evening, where we might find water and grass for our horses. When we arrived at Naquedoch, a little rest recovered my strength, and I was again restored to health. We had passed another mission or settlement, called the Aïs, and these two were the only inhabited places we met with. They are both in the neighbourhood of some Indian villages of the same names, which are sometimes friends and sometimes enemies to the Spaniards.

At my arrival at Naquedoch, the old governor I have spoken of gave me a pretty good reception; but it was necessary to return to Adæs,

to procure provisions for the journey, not being able to find any at Naquedoch, or among the neighbouring savages; for, as I have said, you must take a journey of a hundred leagues, in these uncultivated countries, to reach the next post.

I departed alone, not being able to find either a travelling companion, or a servant. During this little journey of fifty leagues, I sometimes could not sufficiently admire the decrees of Providence, as I lay reposing on a bear's skin, which served me as a bed, with my horse tied to a bush, and grazing at my side, when I considered myself alone in these vast forests. I led a life nearly like that of an Indian; for the best provisions for such a journey, and the most convenient to carry, is a little meat dried in the sun, and some flour of roasted Indian corn, which the Spaniards call *pynole*. This flour, wetted in some water, swells prodigiously, and a handful is sufficient for a meal. I was much perplexed the day after my departure, having missed my way, and took a beaten path, which led to an Indian village. I knew it by a sight of their huts, in the form of a sugar loaf, which I saw through the trees time enough to make my retreat undiscovered. The darkness and obscurity of the night saved me; for had the Indians awaked and seen, they would immediately have fired at me, thinking I came either to reconnoitre or to rob them.

The same day, perceiving a troop of Indians, I went out of the road to eat my dinner, and to get at a distance from them, moved by an involuntary fear, which Europeans still possess of these people; but I had scarcely dismounted, before I was joined by two Indian women, who asked me to give them some maize. I divided what I had with them; but a little time after I was very agreeably surprized to see them return, and give me part of their cakes of wild fruits. I was overwhelmed with kindness by some men of their tribe whom I met soon after. They shewed me the way, and told

me the proper places to sleep in, and to feed my horse.

At night I laid down to take my rest, and tied my horse to some shrubs, in a place where there was some fresh herbage. I awaked, according to my custom, in the middle of the night, to remove him to a spot where the herbage was neither trampled on or ate, but was much surprized not to find him: he had got loose, and strayed away. What were my reflections in this moment? I remained alone, without any conveyance, in these vast forests, without provisions, or arms to procure me any, or to defend me. I contemplated with grief my two bear skins and faddle, which served me for bed and pillow, and, for fear of losing myself, I dared not go into the woods in search of my horse. Necessity, however, soon obliged me to assume courage, and having observed by the moon the direction of the way, I went to seek him in the woods. Half an hour after I happily found him, grazing on the slope of a rivulet, where there was some fresh pasture; but I had now a new difficulty to take him. At last, by perseverance, I succeeded. I had resolved within myself, rather than return the way I came, either to address myself to the savages, who were enemies to the Spaniards, and who sometimes come into these countries, or to set off alone. Experience has since taught me, from the difficulties I afterwards encountered in this journey, that the latter would have been impracticable for me, for it is so, even to a savage, if he is unacquainted with these countries.

Having supplied myself with that kind of provision I have spoken of, I set out again for the mission of Naquedoch.

In the middle of the day on which I set out, chance, or my horse, who, knowing the way better, was often my guide, conducted me better than I could have done myself, and led me to the border of a small river, which I had forded on my first journey. I had been informed, that it was sometimes

swelled, as it was at this time; but they had directed me to observe whether certain stones which lay on the side were overflowed or not, which would inform me whether the passage was practicable. Thinking I had found them, I rode boldly into the bed of the river, but had not reached the middle when my horse would not go forward; although I pressed him much, he bounded backward, and through.

(*To be continued.*)

ESSAY ON THE ANCIENT NAVIGATION OF THE VENETIANS.

[*Continued.*]

IF the Venetians inherited this science from the Greeks, it was not those most certainly who were busied in fathoming the mystical doctrine of the divine Plato; not from those Greeks whose only knowledge consisted in fasting, and making an infinity of crosses before ill-formed figures, objects one moment of their worship, and the next of their detestation; but from those who besieged Troy, who founded the numerous colonies in Asia, in Africa, and above all in Italy; from those who raised the Piræus and the Colossus of Rhodes, and lastly, from those Greeks who had the ability to conquer the fleets of Xerxes.

True it is, that the Greeks of the islands and of Constantinople also, in the 1st century, fled into Italy, and to Venice, more than any other place, on account of the threatening progress of the Ottomans. But was it possible for any one to imagine that these fugitive and wandering Greeks could have brought to perfection the art of navigation in Venice? What navigation, what commerce was there remaining in Greece in those times?

The Eastern empire having altered its face, and being on every side reduced, and confined within the narrow limits of the very freight which joined the capital, had long ago renounced every maritime pursuit. From the 12th century to the present time the Venetians were able to send out a nu-

merous fleet to besiege Constantinople, to re-establish a banished emperor on his throne; and afterwards punish his ingratitude, storm the city, and make themselves masters of a fourth part of the empire of the Greeks.

Had the Greeks cultivated the art of navigation, had they applied themselves to maritime concerns, why even at a period considerably anterior to this famous and distinguished epocha, did they purchase support and defence of the Venetians against the Normans and Saracens? and in what manner could the Venetians raise a large force at sea, and acquire the fame of unrivalled navigators, unless they were possessed of the art of navigation? This fame, however, is of as old a date as the very foundation of the republic, if, according to the account of Caffiodorus, even to the time of Theodoric the Ostrogoth, they used to navigate to great distances, and the number of their vessels was immense.

It is a mere prejudice to suppose that in those early ages the Venetians on their own seas made use of small vessels and row-boats only. I firmly believe that they had ships as large as at present, or very little less; and as objects at a distance appear less to the eye, so the distance of a thousand years and more, I imagine, may probably lead us into a mistake.

The ground of this prejudice is

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the too common and ill-founded opinion, that the republic of Venice had its origin in darkness and poverty, and that the founders of this republic, the greatest and most conspicuous which has ever been formed by man, except the republic of Rome, were a set of miserable fishermen; an opinion which I have more than once combated, and whose gross fallacy I have fully proved in my abridgement of the Venetian history.

In fact such prejudice being removed, and examining with the eye of criticism the documents of the ancient history of the Venetians, we find that from the earliest ages they had a considerable force at sea, which naturally conveys an idea that they possessed the art of building, as well as the science of steering their vessels. How could they with fishing smacks and small row-boats have ploughed the ocean to an immense extent? How could they have transported the army sent by Justinian to re-conquer Italy, under the conduct of Narses; how clear the Adriatic of Dalmatian corsairs, how make head against the power of the Saracens, or check the courageous impetuosity of the Normans?

From the earliest period of time the fame of their courageous exploits at sea, and of their knowledge in navigation were known to all the maritime powers*. But this is conjecture. We have no documents of older date than 1202, from which we can form any idea of the size of the Venetian ships, from whence it may be ascertained, whether or no vessels of such magnitude could sail along the coast, or venture into the high seas without the aid of the science of navigation. The Venetians employed one hundred and ten large vessels, sixty gallies, and as many sloops, for the purpose of transporting beyond sea the troops of the Franks and Burgundians on that famous Crusade which ended in the

taking Zara and Constantinople. On that expedition there were embarked four thousand five hundred horses, besides forty thousand men, from whence a conclusion may be drawn, of what size the ships composing such an armament must have been, and which for three successive years employed the whole of the arsenals belonging to the Venetian state.

Here let us pause, and give a moment's reflection to the extraordinary power of the republic in those very times, against which we are so strangely prepossessed. To these two hundred and thirty vessels the Venetians added fifty armed gallies, forming in the whole a fleet of two hundred and eighty ships of war, all carrying the Venetian flag; but still the republic was not arrived at its summit of greatness, nor did it possess one foot of ground in the province of Lombardy. Amongst these ships there was one, the greatest after the triumphal vessel of Claudius, which ever ploughed the Adriatic, called the *World*. One would have wished that some account of the dimensions of this enormous ship had been preserved, like that of another, named the *St. Mary*, which the republic granted to St. Louis, King of France, in the expedition of 1268. The articles of convention between the king and the republic, for the passage into the Holy Land, were published by Zannetti, and from him we know that government granted only three of its ships on public account, the other twelve being private ships. Even these fifteen ships transported to the Holy Land four thousand horses and ten thousand men, a number not a little worthy of remark, as it shews the surprizing bulk of those ships, of which the greatest was one hundred and eight feet long (Venetian measure), and one hundred and ten feet (sea measure), that is to say,

* *Gens nulla valentior illis
Æquoreis bellis, ratiumque per æqua ducta.*
Willelmus Apul; nearly

nearly approaching to the dimensions of one of our ships of sixty guns. The Venetian first rates are 125 feet keel (according to the last design 127.)

The second rates are in the keel 110 feet, and 34 feet beam.

Here it should be remarked, says Zannetti, that the marine of the Venetians was at this time changed in part, the transports no longer making use of oars; but I must own I should have been happy, had he informed us when this reformation took place; for what he seems desirous of deducing from hence, in quoting the works of the Emperor Leo the Wise, on the art of war, is by no means reasonable. In that part he speaks only of ships armed for fighting, which had, as is natural to suppose, the assistance of oars, so highly necessary before the use of guns was established; and at a time when the marine art of war was in that form reduced to a system in every part; but no mention is made of ships of burthen for the transport of men, merchandise, and horses, which as they went with sails in the year 1200, must have been the same some time previous to that era.

These ships with sails alone were not I imagine used in war before the ninth century, and it should seem that necessity alone first suggested the idea to the Venetians of arming them. In fact, an old chronological writer of ours informs us, that the Venetians did not begin to apply them to this use previous to the year 838, when their fleet of 60 gallies, which had been sent to Sicily in favour of the Greeks, was dispersed or destroyed by the Saracens, and also, after the other unfortunate day of Sansego, in which the Saracens again came off victorious, the Venetians found their force at sea so reduced and weakened, that the corsairs of Dalmatia even dared to infest their Lagunes, and take possession of Caorla and Grado. Then it was that the Doge Trado-

nico dispatched the two ships called *Galander*, armed on a new principle for fighting. These *Galander* were certainly merchant ships, and of course with sails only, as is fully proved by authentic documents.

And, if I am not mistaken, these *Galander* of our forefathers were nothing more than the *Palander* of the moderns; it being an easy matter to change the pronunciation of a letter, when we think of a set of rough and unpolished mariners, and also so many centuries back. I shall not seek for the etymology of this word in the Greek dictionary, being satisfied it owes its origin to Venice rather than Greece; because this species of vessels seems the invention of the Venetians, whose language, though not then Greek, had perhaps at an earlier period some resemblance to it.

Undoubtedly Leo the Wise, in his art of war, in all the several species of ships which he takes notice of, makes no mention of *Galander*. We know of no Greek writers who have mentioned them before Theophanes, Cedrenus, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, Simon Logotheta, and others of a later date. Constantine Porphyrogenitus informs us, there were three sorts of *Galander*; some of which, viz. the larger, were named *Pansile*, others *Ufabe*, and others simple *Galander*; The first seem to have been armed, and solely adapted to the use of war, and, from their superiority in point of size, were as ships of the line and first rates of those times. The second were calculated for the carrying of merchandise, and particularly horses, and would correspond with the transports, mentioned in the history of the crusades, and to the hippocagi or horse carriers of the antients. The third species were lastly the simple *galandre*, and I firmly believe they exactly agreed with the idea of our modern palandre.

These vessels are at this time, according to the custom of our arsenal, built in form of *Marciliane*, but with a small beak head, and two small windows

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windows in the stern. In one and the other they have bull's eyes, from whence to be able to lower the cable, and moor the ship. They are generally fifty feet in the keel, and in breadth they commonly exceed one half their length. Their sides are rather elevated; they have only one deck, which forms an ample area for containing many bomb carriages. They carry only one sail, with the mast in the middle, inclining somewhat towards the head. These vessels are generally towed, and have only bombs on board, with their engineers, and a few sailors.

It will be here proper to observe, as we go on, that the etymology of the old names of ships of the Venetians, *Palandre*, *Tarete*, *Marciliane*, are evidently preserved in the *Palandre*, *Tartans*, and *Marciliane*, according to our modern sea phrases. Zannetti was most certainly mistaken when he derived the name of *Marciliane* from *Marselles*, whilst it strikes every one that the name is derived from *Merci* (merchandise) for the carrying of which they were, and are, principally designed. They always were and are merchant ships, and commonly called *Marzilians*, or *Marcilians*: thus we spare the travelling to *Marselles*, (with which they had a commercial communication) in quest of a name; but it is not to be imagined that the antient Venetians found it necessary to have recourse to the *Marfiglians* to learn the art of ship building, or the names they should give to the different species of vessels.

If then it is reasonable to suppose the antient *galandre* are the *palandre* of the moderns, and if these are ships simply designed for sailing, my opinion is at once more than probable, that in the year 838, only those ships, which before they used for the sole purpose of transporting merchandise, were then armed for ships of war, in compliance with the dictates of necessity. The good

effect they had in driving the corsairs within the very walls of Caorle and Grado, made them sensible of their great utility in naval and military expeditions, and they then were ranked among the ships of war.

There does not, however, remain a doubt but that in the early ages the use of ships, solely adapted to sailing, was known, since even the Romans knew it. Should it be asked me in what manner it was possible to reduce these trading vessels to the purpose of war, at a time when guns and bombs were yet unknown, the answer I will make, is, that the antients had certain warlike engines to arm their ships with, and which rendered them truly formidable; and this is clearly demonstrated by Marin Sanudo in his work, where he lays down a plan for conquering the Holy Land. Nor is the opinion of the vulgar by any means fully ascertained, viz, that guns and bombs were not known to the antient Venetians. For what were those engines or tubes, mentioned by the emperor Leo, which, with an explosion and smoke, darted their fire into the enemies' ships; those engines, I repeat, lined and cased with metal; ** that fire accompanied with thunder and burning smoke?* In my opinion, Franze is not wide of the truth, where, in describing the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, he gives the name of Greek fire to the modern gunpowder.

The antient ships of war which originally had sails and oars, had sometimes three of these engines placed forward near the head of the ship; but, in general, only one, as at present, is observable in the gallies, which have one great gun forward at the head. The Venetians had afterwards the credit of arming their ships on one deck, but in what manner, and how they executed it, is not perfectly well known.

However, if we take as a model the modern *palandre*, there is rea-

* χθιφωνα καλκω πυρισμενον αβεσος.

son to believe that from the invention of the Venetians, the bombs were substituted for the abovementioned engines, probably on account of the elevation of the sides of the galandre. Certain it is, that the Venetians were already possessed of the power of managing these horrid implements of destruction about the middle of the thirteenth century; for in the war of Chiozza, in the year 1380, they made use of them, throwing balls of 195 pounds weight, and with such force as to throw down, with one of these balls only, a part of the tower of Brondolo, and destroyed Doria, and many of the soldiers. In that memorable war, Platina informs us, that there were few Venetian ships which did not carry two or more of these bombs.

I should too far depart from my original proposition, if I extended my reflections further on this subject. Returning then to my first ground, it is admitted* that the Venetians had, from the earliest date of the Republic, decked ships, and with sails alone, of considerable bulk, as I have already proved; it now remains for me only to prove, that they were in possession of the science of conducting them in open sea. Whoever is intimately acquainted with this science, will hardly ask for proofs, well knowing the impossibility of conducting a ship in the open sea without the aid and assistance of sea charts and a compass; and we shall prove that the Venetians were not without such aid.

That they were in possession of sea charts, from the year 1300, is sufficiently proved from the description given by Sanudo of the eastern coast of the Mediterranean, and from the other charts connected with his works, which, it is not probable, were the first which had been made for the purposes of navigation. The same author speaks also of the direc-

tion of the magnet towards the arctic pole, as of a thing commonly known in his time*. Why then will any one say that Gioia D'Alfi invented the mariners compass?

Next to the charts of Sanudo, the most ancient one remaining is that of Zanettii, a Venetian, sold at the library of Parma for little more than seven-pence; and in fact it is not worth much more, as it is only a copy of the old charts which were made at Venice for the use of navigation. I have already proved elsewhere that the original must have been published about the beginning of the thirteenth century, at the time when they fixed the standard of St. Mark on the walls of Constantinople.

Next in rotation comes the sea chart for navigating the North Sea, by the two brothers, Zeni, in 1380, preserved in a wooden cut of 1556, very scarce indeed.

Hitherto I have not been fortunate enough to trace the original. I have however found in the library of St. Michael a Murano, a copier of a certain Benincasa, a copier of nautical charts, dated 1471, in which is laid down the island of Frisland, now lost, discovered by the Zeni, and by them for the first time described.

This chart of Benincasa among the MS. is the first which contains the degrees of latitude: but the numbers are wrong marked in a certain height. I suspect that they have been added since by some ignorant monk. However that be, the degrees are not wanting in the chart of Zeni, from whence I deduce an argument to prove that the Venetians knew also how to use the astrolabe at sea, and take the altitude, either by the North Star, or by the Sun.

Nor should this appear extraordinary or improbable, since I could demonstrate that the mathematics and trigonometrical calculation, were then no secrets with them, as has been since

* Attrahit certe amor originalis principii—Quum potius magnes attrahit ferrum, quia nobiliori modo in magnete virtus sui principii Poli Arcticci repetitur.

believed, grounded upon a supposition that the science of the mathematics was absolutely unknown in the age now styled the Times of Barbarism. This knowledge was not however very general. Far be it from me to attempt to prove that our ancestors were great pilots or famous mathematicians; but I will be bold to say, that there always were, and

(To be continued.)

TO THE EDITORS OF THE LITERARY MAGAZINE.

I send you a translation of the late Mr. Turgot's *Reflections*. They are affirmed by his biographer, the Marquis de Condorcet, to be the germ from which the late Dr. Adam Smith formed his excellent treatise on the Wealth of Nations. This is its first appearance in English.

MERCATOR.

REFLECTIONS ON THE FORMATION AND DISTRIBUTION OF RICHES.

BY THE LATE MR. TURGOT, SOMETIME INTENDANT OF THE FINANCES OF FRANCE.

Offendit terris bunc tantum, fata. Æn. 6.

§ 1. *THE impossibility of the existence of commerce upon the supposition of an equal division of lands, where every man would possess only what is necessary for his own support.*

If the land was divided among all the inhabitants of a country, so that each of them possessed precisely the quantity necessary for his support, and nothing more, it is evident that all of them being equal, no one would work for another, neither would any of them possess wherewith to pay another for his labour, for each person having only such a quantity of land as was necessary to produce a subsistence, would consume all he should gather, and would not have anything to give in exchange for the labour of others.

§ 2. *The above hypothesis neither has nor can exist, the diversity of soils and multiplicity of wants compel an exchange of the productions of the earth, against other productions.*

This hypothesis never can have

more particularly among the higher rank of people, able navigators, whose nautical knowledge was grounded not only in theory, but in practice, such must have been the Zeni and Quirini, who scoured the North Seas; such were the Cadamotti, and many others, the names of whom, with their undertakings, have not come within our knowledge.

existed, because the earth has been cultivated before it has been divided; the cultivation itself having been the only motive for a division, and for that law which secures to every one his property. For the first persons who have employed themselves in cultivation, have probably worked as much land as their strength would permit, and consequently more than was necessary for their own nourishment.

If this state could have existed, it could not possibly be durable, each one gathering from his field only a subsistence, and not having wherewith to pay others for their labour, would not be enabled to supply his other wants of lodging, cloathing, &c. &c. except by the labour of his hands, which would be nearly impossible, as every soil would not produce invariably the same.

The man whose land was only fit to produce grain, and would neither bring forth cotton or fax, would want linen to cloath him. Another would

would have ground proper for cotton, which would not yield grain. One would want wood for his fire, and another be destitute of corn to support him. Experience would soon teach every one what species of productions his land was best adapted to, and he would confine himself to the cultivation of it, in order to procure himself those things he stood in need of, by an exchange with his neighbours, who, having on their part acquired the same experience, would have cultivated those productions which were best suited to their land, and would have abandoned the cultivation of any other.

§ 3. *The productions of the earth require long and difficult preparations, before they are made fit to supply the wants of men.*

The productions which the earth supplies to satisfy the wants of man, will not, for the most part, administer to those wants, in the state nature affords them; it is necessary they should undergo different operations, and be prepared by art. Wheat must be converted into flour, then into bread; hides must be dressed or tanned; wool and cotton must be spun; silk must be taken from the cod; hemp and flax must be soaked, peeled, spun, and wove into different textures; then cut and sewed together again to make garments, &c. If the same man who cultivates on his own land these different articles, and who rises them to supply his wants, was obliged to perform all the intermediate operations himself, it is certain he would succeed very badly. The greater part of these preparations require care, attention, and a long experience; all which are only to be acquired by progressive labour, and that on a great quantity of materials. Let us refer, for example, to the preparation of hides: what labourer can pursue all the particular things necessary to those operations, which continue several months, sometimes several years? If he is able to do it, can he do it with a single hide? What a loss of

time, of room, and of materials, which might be employed, either at the same time or successively, to tan a large quantity of skins! But should he even succeed in tanning a single skin, he wants one pair of shoes; what will he do with the remainder? Will he kill an ox to make this pair of shoes? Will he cut down a tree to make a pair of wooden shoes? We may say the same thing of every other want of every other man, who, if he was reduced to his field, and the labour of his own hands, would waste much time, take much trouble, be very badly equipped in every respect, and would also cultivate his lands very ill.

§ 4. *The necessity of these preparations, bring on the exchange of productions for labour.*

The same motive which has established the exchange of commodity for commodity, between the cultivators of lands of different natures, has also necessarily brought on the exchange of commodities for labour, between the cultivators and another portion of society, who shall have preferred the occupation of preparing and completing the productions of the earth, to the cultivation of it. Every one profits by this arrangement, for every one attaching himself to a peculiar species of labour, succeeds much better therein. The husbandman draws from his field the greatest quantity it is able to produce, and procures to himself, with greater facility, all the other objects of his wants, by an exchange of his superfluous, than he could have done by his own labour. The shoemaker, by making shoes for the husbandman, secures to himself a portion of the harvest of the latter. Every workman labours for the wants of the workmen of every other trade, who, on their side, toil also for him.

§ 5. *Pre-eminence of the husbandman who produces, over the artificer who prepares. The husbandman is the first mover in the circulation of labour: it is he who causes the earth to produce the wages of every artificer.*

It must, however, be observed that the husbandman, furnishing every one with the most important and the most considerable objects of their consumption (I mean their food, and the materials of almost all manufactures) has the advantage of a greater degree of independence. His labour, among the different species of labour, appropriated to the different members of society, supports the same pre-eminence and priority; as the procuring his food did among the different works he was obliged, in his solitary state, to employ himself in, to minister to his wants of every sort. This is not a pre-eminence of honour or of dignity, but of *physical necessity*. The husbandman can, generally speaking, subsist without the labour of other workmen; but no other workmen can labour, if the husbandman does not provide him wherewith to exist. It is this circulation, which, by a reciprocal exchange of wants, renders mankind necessary to each other, and which forms the bond of society: it is then the labour of the husbandman which gives the first movement. What his industry causes the earth to produce beyond his personal wants, is the only fund for the salaries which all the other members of society receive, in recompence for their toil. The latter, by availing themselves of the produce of this exchange, to purchase in their turn the commodities of the husbandman, only return to him precisely what they have received. There is here a very essential difference between these two species of labours, on which it is necessary to reflect, and to be well assured of the ground they stand on, before we trust to the innumerable consequences which flow from them.

§ 6. *The salary of the workman is limited by the competition among those who work for their subsistence. He only gains a livelihood.*

The mere workman, who depends only on his hands and his industry, has nothing but such part of his labour as he is able to dispose of. He

sells at a cheaper or a dearer price; but this high or low price does not depend on himself alone; it results from the agreement he has made with the person who employs him. The latter pays him as little as he can help; as he has the choice from among a great number of workmen, he prefers the person who works cheapest. The workmen are therefore obliged to lower their price in opposition to each other. In every species of labour it must, and, in effect, it does happen, that the wages of the workman is confined merely to what is necessary to procure him a subsistence.

§ 8. *The husbandman is the only one whose industry produces more than the wages of his labour. He, therefore, is the only source of all riches.*

The situation of the husbandman is materially different. The soil, independent of any other man, or of any agreement, pays him immediately the price of his toil. Nature does not bargain with him, or compel him to content himself with what is absolutely necessary. What she grants is neither limited to his wants, nor to a conditional valuation of the price of his day's work. It is a physical consequence of the fertility of the soil, and of justice, rather than of the difficulty of the means, which he has employed to render it fruitful. As soon as the labour of the husbandman produces more than sufficient for his necessities, he can, with the excess which nature affords him of pure free-will, beyond the wages of his toils, purchase the labour of other members of society. The latter, in selling to him, only procures a livelihood; but the husbandman, besides his subsistence, collects an independent and disposable wealth, which he has not purchased, but can sell. He is, therefore, the only source of all those riches which, by their circulation, animates the labours of society; because he is the only one whose labour produces more than the wages of his toil.

§ 8. *First division of society into two classes, the one productive, or the cultivators,*

titivators, the other stipendiary, or the artificers.

Here then is the whole society divided, by a necessity founded on the nature of things, into two classes, both industrious, of which the one, by its labour, produces, or rather draws from the earth, riches continually renewing, which supply the whole society with subsistence, and with materials for all its wants. The other, employed in giving the said materials such preparations and forms as render them proper for the use of man, sells to the first person his labour, and receives in return a subsistence. The first may be called the *productive*, the latter the *stipendiary* class.

§ 9. In the first ages of society, the proprietors could not be distinguished from the cultivators.

Hitherto we have not distinguished the husbandman from the proprietor of the land; and in the first origin they were not in fact distinguished. It is by the labour of those who have first cultivated the fields, and who have inclosed them, to secure their harvest, that all land has ceased to be common to all, and that a property in the soil has been established. Until societies have been established, and until the public strength, or the laws, becoming superior to the force of individuals, has been able to guarantee to every one the tranquil possession of his property, against all invasion from without; the property in a field could only be secured as it had been acquired, and by continuing to cultivate it; he could not have been assured of having his field cultivated by the help of another person; and that person taking all the trouble, could not easily have comprehended that the whole harvest did not belong to him. On the other hand, in this early age, when every industrious man would find as much land as he wanted, he would not be tempted to labour for another. It necessarily follows, that every proprietor must cultivate his own field or abandon it.

§ 10. Progress of society: all lands come to have an owner.

But the land begins to people, and to be cleared more and more. The best lands are in process of time fully occupied. There remains only for those who come last, nothing but barren land, rejected by the first occupant: But at last, every spot has found a master, and those who cannot gain a property therein, have no other resource but to exchange the labour of their hands in some of the employments of the stipendiary class, for the excess of commodities possessed by the cultivating proprietor.

§ 11. The proprietors begin to be able to ease themselves of the labour of cultivation, by the help of hired cultivators.

Meantime, since the earth produces to the proprietor who cultivates it, not a subsistence only; not only wherewith to procure himself by way of exchange, what he otherwise wants, but also a considerable superfluity; he is enabled with this superfluity, to pay other men to cultivate his land. And among those who live by wages, as many are content to labour in this employment as in any other. The proprietor, therefore, might then be eased of the labour of culture, and he soon was so.

§ 12. Inequality in the division of property: causes which render that inevitable.

The original proprietors would (as I have already mentioned) occupy as much land as their strength would permit them to cultivate with their families. A man of greater strength, more laborious, more attentive about the future, would occupy more than a man of a contrary character. He, whose family is the most numerous, having greater wants and more hands, extends his possessions further; this is a first cause of inequality.—Every piece of ground is not equally fertile; two men with the same extent of land, may reap a very different harvest; this is a second source of inequality.—Property in descending from

from fathers to their children, divides into greater or less portions, according as the descendants are more or less numerous. As one generation succeeds another, sometimes the inheritances again subdivide, and sometimes re-unite again by the extinction of some of the branches; this is a third source of inequality. The difference of knowledge, of activity, and, above all, the economy of some, contrasted with the indolence, inaction, and dissipation of others, is a fourth principle of inequality, and the most powerful of all; the negligent and inattentive proprietor, who cultivates badly, who in a fruitful year consumes in frivolous things the whole of his superfluity, finds himself reduced on the least accident to request assistance from his more provident neighbour, and to live by borrowing. If by any new accident, or by a continuation of his negligence, he finds himself not in a condition to repay, he is obliged to have recourse to new loans, and at last has no other resource but to abandon a part, or even the whole of his property to his creditor, who receives it as an equivalent; or to assign it to another, in exchange for other valuables with which he discharges his obligation to his creditor.

§ 13. Consequences of this inequality: The cultivator distinguished from the proprietor.

Thus is the property in the soil made subject to purchase and sale. The portion of the dissipating or unfortunate, increases the share of the more happy or wiser proprietor; and in this infinite variety of possessions, it is not possible but a great number of proprietors must possess more than they can cultivate. Besides, it is very natural for a rich man to wish for a tranquil enjoyment of his property, and instead of employing his whole time in toilsome labour, he rather prefers giving a part of his superfluity to people to work for him.

§ 14. Division of the produce between the cultivator and the proprietor. Net produce, or revenue.

By this new arrangement, the produce of the land divides into two parts. The one comprehends the subsistence and the profits of the husbandman, which are the reward for his labour, and the condition on which he agrees to cultivate the field of the proprietor. The other which remains, is that independent and disposable part, which the earth produces as a free gift to him who cultivates it, over and above what he has disbursed, and wages for his trouble; and it is out of this share of the proprietor's, or what is called the revenue, that he is enabled to live without labour, and which he can carry where he will.

§ 15. A new division of society into three classes, Cultivators, Artificers, and Proprietors, or the productive, dispensable and disposable classes.

We now behold society divided into three branches; the class of husbandmen, whom we may denominate cultivators; the class of artificers and others, who work for hire upon the productions of the earth; and the class of proprietors, the only one which, not being confined by a want of support to a particular species of labour, may be employed in the general service of society, as for war, and the administration of justice, either by a personal service, or by the payment of a part of their revenue, with which the state may hire others to fill these employments. The appellation which suits the best with this division, for this reason, is that of the disposable class.

§ 16. Resemblance between the two laborious, or not disposable classes.

The two classes of cultivators and artificers, resemble each other in many respects, and particularly that those who compose them do not possess any revenue, and both equally subsist on the wages which are paid them on the productions of the earth. Both have also this circumstance in common, that they only gain the price of their labour and their disbursements, and that this price is nearly the same in the two classes. The

proprietor agreeing with those who cultivate his ground to pay them as small a part as possible of its produce, in the same manner as he bargains with the shoemaker to purchase his shoes as cheap as he can. In a word, neither the cultivator nor the artificer receive more than a bare recompense for their labour.

§ 17. *Essential difference between the two laborious classes.*

But there is this difference between the two species of labour; that the work of the cultivator produces not only his own wages, but also that revenue which serves to pay all the different classes of artificers, and other stipendiaries their salaries; that is to say, their parts of the productions of the earth, in exchange for their labour, and which does not produce any revenue. The proprietor enjoys nothing but by the labour of the cultivator. He receives from him his subsistence, and wherewith to pay for the labour of the other stipendiaries. He has need of the cultivator by the necessity arising from the physical order of things, by which necessity the earth is not fruitful without labour; but the cultivator has no need of the proprietor but by virtue of human

conventions, and of those civil laws which have guaranteed to the first cultivators and their heirs, the property in the lands they had occupied, even after they ceased to cultivate them. But these laws can only secure to the idle man, that part of the production of his land which it produces beyond the retribution due to the cultivators. The cultivator, confined as he is, to the stipend for his labour, still preserves that natural and physical priority which renders him the first mover of the whole machine of society, and which causes both the subsistence and wealth of the proprietor, and the salaries paid for every other species of labour, to depend on his industry. The artificer, on the contrary, receives his wages either of the proprietor or of the cultivator, and only gives them in exchange for his work, an equivalent for his stipend, and nothing more.

Thus, although the cultivator and artificer neither of them gain more than a recompense for their toil, yet the labour of the cultivator produces besides that recompense, a revenue to the proprietor, while the artificer does not produce any revenue either for himself or others.

VARIOUS CUSTOMS IN ABYSSINIA, SIMILAR TO THOSE OF PERSIA,
FROM MR. BRUCE'S TRAVELS.

[Continued from page 428, VOL. V.]

WE will now compare some particulars of the dress and ornaments of the two kings. The king of Abyssinia wears his hair long, so did the ancient kings of Persia. A comet had appeared in the war with Persia, and was looked upon by the Romans as a bad omen. Vespasian laughed at it, and said, if it portended any ill, it was to the king of Persia, because, like him, it wore long hair.

The diadem was, with the Persians, a mark of royalty, as with the Abyssinians, being composed of the same materials, and worn in the same

manner. The king of Abyssinia wears it, while marching, as a mark of sovereignty, that does not impede or incommod him, as any other heavier ornament would do, especially in hot weather. This fillet surrounds his head above the hair, leaving the crown perfectly uncovered. It is an offence of the first magnitude for any person, at this time, to wear any thing upon his head, especially white, unless for Mahometans, who wear caps, and over them a large white turban; or for priests, who wear large turbans of muslin also.

This

This was the diadem of the Persians, as appears from Lucian, who calls it a white fillet about the forehead. In the dialogue between Diogenes and Alexander, the head is said to be tied round with a white fillet; and Favorinus, speaking of Pompey, whose leg was wound round with a white bandage, says, it is no matter on what part of the body he wears a diadem. We read in Justinian, that Alexander, leaping from his horse, by accident wounded Lyfimachus in the forehead with the point of his spear, and the blood gushed out so violently that it could not be staunched, till the king took the diadem from his head, and with it bound up the wound; which, at that time, was looked upon as an omen, that Lyfimachus was to be king; and so it soon after happened.

The kings of Abyssinia anciently sat upon a gold throne, which is a large, convenient, oblong, square seat, like a small bedstead, covered with Persian carpets, damask, and cloth of gold, with steps leading up to it. It is still richly gilded, but the many revolutions and wars have much abridged their ancient magnificence. The portable throne was a gold stool, like that curule stool or chair used by the Romans, which we see on medals. It was, in the Begemder war, changed to a very beautiful one of the same form, inlaid with gold. Xerxes is said to have been spectator of a naval fight, sitting upon a gold stool.

It is, in Abyssinia, high-treason to sit upon any seat of the king's; and he that presumed to do this, would be instantly hewn to pieces, if there was no other collateral proof of his being a madman. The reader will find, in the course of my history, a very ridiculous accident on this subject, in the king's tent, with Guan-goul, king of the Bertuma Galla.

It is probable that Alexander had heard of this law in Persia, and disapproved of it; for one day, it being extremely cold, the king, sitting in his chair before the fire, warming

and chafing his legs, saw a soldier, probably a Persian, who had lost his feeling by extreme numbness. The king immediately leaped from his chair, and ordered the soldier to be set down upon it. The fire soon brought him to his senses, but he had almost lost them again with fear, by finding himself in the king's seat. To whom Alexander said, "Remember, and distinguish how much more advantageous to man my government is than that of the kings of Persia. By sitting down on my seat, you have saved your life; by sitting on theirs, you would infallibly have lost it."

In Abyssinia it is considered as a fundamental law of the land, that none of the royal family, who have any deformity, or bodily defect, shall be allowed to succeed to the crown; and for this purpose, any of the princes, who may have escaped from the mountain of Wechnè, and who are afterwards taken, are mutilated in some of their members, that thus they may be disqualified from ever succeeding. In Persia the same was observed. Procopius tells us, that Zames, the son of Cabades, was excluded from the throne; he was blind of one eye, the law of Persia prohibiting any person that had a bodily defect to be elected king.

The kings of Abyssinia were seldom seen by their subjects. Justinian says, the Persians hid the person of their king, to increase their reverence for his majesty. And it was a law of Deioces, king of the Medes, that nobody should be permitted to see the king; which regulation was as ancient as the time of Semiramis, whose son, Ninjas, is said to have grown old in the palace, without ever having been known by being seen out of it.

This absurd usage gave rise to many abuses. In Persia it produced two officers, who were called the king's eyes, and the king's ear; and had the dangerous employment, I mean dangerous for the subject, of seeing and hearing for their sovereign. In Abyssinia, as I have just said, it created

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ated an officer called the king's vary in quality. The king of Abyssinia eats of wheat bread, though not of every wheat, but of that only that grows in the province of Dembea, therefore called the king's food. It was so with the kings of Persia, who eat wheat bread, Herodotus says, but only of a particular kind, as we learn from Strabo.

“Hear what the king says to you;” which is the usual form of all regal mandates in Abyssinia; and what follows has the force of law. In the same stile, Josephus thus begins an edict of Cyrus king of Persia, “Cyrus the king says.”—And speaking of Cambyses's rescript, “Cambyses the king says thus.”—And Esdras also, “Thus saith Cyrus king of Persia.”—And Nebuchadnezzar says to Holofernes, “Thus saith the great king, lord of the whole earth.”—And this was probably the origin of *edicts*, when writing was little used by sovereigns, and little understood by the subject.

Solemn hunting-matches were always in use, both with the kings of Abyssinia and those of Persia. In both kingdoms it was a crime for a subject to strike the game till such time as the king had thrown his lance at it. This absurd custom was repealed by Artaxerxes Longimanus in one kingdom, and by Yafous the Great in the other, so late as the beginning of the last century.

The kings of Abyssinia are above all laws. They are supreme in all cases ecclesiastical and civil; the land and persons of their subjects are equally their property; and every inhabitant of their kingdom is born their slave; if he bears a higher rank, it is by the king's gift, for his nearest relations are accounted nothing better. The same obtained in Persia. Aristotle calls the Persian generals and nobles, slaves of the great king. Xerxes, reproving Pytheus the Lydian, when seeking to excuse one of his sons from going to war, says, “You that are my slave, and bound to follow me with your wife and all your family.”—And Gobryas says to Cyrus, “I deliver myself to you, at once your companion and your slave.”

There are several kinds of bread in Abyssinia, some of different sorts of teff, and some of tocuollo, which also

have shewn, in the course of the foregoing history, that it always has been, and still is the custom of the kings of Abyssinia, to marry what number of wives they choose; that these were not, therefore, all queens, but that among them, there was one who was considered particularly as queen, and upon her head was placed the crown, and she was called Ithighe.

Thus, in Persia, we read that Ahasuerus loved Esther, who had found grace in his sight more than the other virgins, and he had placed a golden crown upon her head. And Josephus informs us, that, when Esther was brought before the king, he was exceedingly delighted with her, and made her his lawful wife; and when she came into the palace, he put a crown upon her head; whether placing the crown upon the queen's head had any civil effect as to regency in Persia, as it had in Abyssinia, is what history does not inform us.

I have already observed, that there is an officer called Serach Massery, who watches before the king's gate all night, and at the dawn of day cracks a whip to chase the wild beasts out of the town. This, too, is the signal for the king to rise, and sit down in his judgment-seat. The same custom was observed in Persia. Early in the morning an officer entered the king's chamber, and said to him, “Arise, O king! and take charge of those matters which Oroomades has appointed you to the care of.”

The king of Abyssinia never is seen to walk, nor to set his foot upon the ground out of his palace; and when he would dismount from the horse or mule on which he rides, he has

has a servant with a stool, who places it properly for him for that purpose. He rides into the anti-chamber to the foot of his throne, or to the stool placed in the alcove of his tent. We are told by Athenaeus, such was the practice in Persia, whose king never set his foot upon the ground out of his palace.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE LITERARY MAGAZINE.

GENTLEMEN,

Anima pars melior nostri.

IN whatever point of view man is considered, he presents a great and interesting subject of investigation. In him is discernible every species of life taken separately, but he can be known only by certain external appearances. Divine and immaterial as the internal principle is, and however elevated by its nature, beyond the reach of sense, it is rendered perceptible and visible only by its correspondence with the body, where it resides, and in which it acts and moves as in its proper element. That wisdom, which so uniformly exists throughout the whole creation, both animal and moral, is peculiarly discernible in the formation of the body, which is so nicely adapted to the various motions of the soul. All the various faculties which indisputably belong to man, can never become a subject for observation and research, but as they are manifested in the body, by that which is visible and perceptible. There is not in the whole extent of nature a single object whose properties and virtues are discoverable in any other way than by the external relations which fall under the examination of the senses. The external indications determine the characteristic of each being; and indeed man would be reduced to a state of total ignorance of every object around him, unless, through universal nature every species of being resided in a perceptible exterior, which might announce at first sight what it was, and furnish a criterion to distinguish it from what it was not. Thus we find that the organization of man renders him discernible from all the other inhabitants of the globe, and his form superlatively exalts him above all the visible beings which exist around him. If we observe the human figure, we shall find it an exquisite model of beauty and harmony. But how far superior to mere animal existence is that intelligible and lively display of internal feeling; of desire, passion, and will, and all that constitutes the moral life. The soul, that "*divitiae partula aurea*," in which the dignity of human nature chiefly consists, exhibits its superiority to the body in no respect so much as in its immortality. All the heroes of antiquity, and all the deities which fancy has formed, and to whatever age or region they may belong, and with whatever attributes the imagination of the poet may have decorated them; and even the most sublime ideas of a God, which a Plato or a Socrates could conceive, can never be equalled to the production of the eternal mind, which if duly cultivated may secure to itself such happiness, as no external circumstances can annoy. For though the boast of absolute independence is ridiculous and vain, yet a mean flexibility to every impulse, and despondency under every misfortune, is below the dignity of that mind, which, however weakened and depraved, owns its derivation from a celestial original. A person of quick sensibility and active imagination, though surrounded with what are usually called calamities, will let his thoughts expatiate at large, and seek for that variety and comfort in his own mind which external objects cannot afford him. Happiness is sought after by numberless expedients, yet is seldom obtained. A wife

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man only, whose mind is stored with virtue, and strengthened by exercise, will perceive the vanity of such pursuits, and will acknowledge that true felicity is not confined to place

or time, but that it is to be found anywhere " *animus si te non despicere queas.*"

Northampton.

BRUTUS.

Among other pleasing and instructive Articles with which this Magazine will be enriched, we shall occasionally present our Readers with the Characters of the various Nations of Europe, when we can procure them drawn by masterly Hands. We shall begin this Division of our Work with the Character of the English, written by a judicious Foreigner, who appears by no Means influenced by Prejudice, and who, although he occasionally labours the Follies, at all Times does ample Justice to the Virtues of our Countrymen.

CHARACTER OF THE ENGLISH.

BY THE REV. DR. WENDEBORN.

SOME, perhaps, will think it not very difficult to make a complete drawing of the English character, when so many have already written on this subject. They will say, As you have resided so long in this country, you need only point out, from the observations of others, what is true, and reject that which is not; you may tell us where there is a likeness, and where there is none. I confess, however, that after some investigation, this reasoning will not be found altogether just. I have read what many have written on the subject, both foreigners and English; but several things which they have advanced as truly characteristical, did not appear to me to be so, and others I thought by no means satisfactory. Most of the foreigners who have written on the English nation, did, a few only excepted, reside but a short time in London, oftentimes without being sufficiently acquainted with the language of the country; besides they frequented companies of no great note, coffee-houses and play-houses, and thought themselves, afterwards, qualified to draw the picture of a nation, with whose manners, genius, and modes of thinking, they were not much better acquainted than with those of a people whose habitations they had seen merely on a geographi-

cal map. There is no trusting to this class of travellers, who take the much-corrupted manners of the metropolis for those of the whole country. The farther off from London, the more, in general, the air, as well as the manners, grow purer. The people appear more civil and tractable, more sociable and frugal, and more given to cleanliness. Riches and luxury are less visible, but the generality of the inhabitants of the country seem to enjoy contentment, and the blessings of liberty. This, probably, was formerly the case in a higher degree, before London became so extensive; and when the people who live at a distance were not so much infected with the mad desire of coming to the metropolis, and of establishing themselves there. The roads were formerly bad, and travelling tedious and expensive; nor did the great and the rich so frequently and expeditiously, as they now do, go into the most distant parts of the kingdom with their servants and attendants, who carry the follies and vices of the capital so successfully among the people who live remote from it.

I have read sketches of the English national character, drawn by Englishmen themselves; but few of them are remarkable for their impartiality.

tiality. Some represent it in a very gloomy light, as if the nation were infected with every vice and immorality; as if it were in a desponding state, and every virtue, and all kind of happiness, on the point of departing from the island. These moral painters are generally over-pious enthusiasts, who lose sight of human nature, and are ready to sacrifice to their unreasonable zeal all those whose blood is not as thick and as heavy as their own. But they are no more to be credited than those who extol their nation and their country so far above all others in the universe, as if no sense, no virtue, no happiness, were to be met with but in their own island. Such prejudices and such idle pride, betray only how unacquainted with foreign countries those are who adopt them. In my opinion, the English, of all cultivated nations, approach the nearest to the character of what man, in reality, ought to be; and this, I think, is their chief characteristic. It is, likewise, a very just observation of Mr. Hume, that "the English, of any people in the universe, have the least of a national character; unless this very singularity may pass for one."^{*} In former times, the resemblance between the English and other nations was stronger, and the singularities now so observable and striking to foreigners, are, principally, to be dated from that period when the revolution established liberty and the constitution on surer ground, and gave to the manners and the way of thinking among the people a greater air of freedom, and consequently to their character and government a different colouring from what it had before.

Education forms, in all countries, the manners of the inhabitants, and that in England is something different from all others. I cannot help

thinking that the taste of the English, in regard to their modern gardening, resembles that which is generally shewn in their manner of education. Nature is preferred to every thing; it is frequently assisted with a helping hand, but care is taken lest art should spoil it. This I take partly to be the reason why the number of those who approach nearest to the dignity and the definition of man is greater among the English than among other nations. To study to find out, as Montesquieu has done, a system which, when followed, will form by rules, slaves for tyrants, is repugnant to humanity. Are we, if it were possible, to alter human nature by education, that it may fit an artificial form of government; or are we rather to adapt our governments to the nature of man? In England, both the inhabitants and the constitution are formed for freedom. That fervile respect for those who are called people of quality, or for those possessed of riches, which is inculcated into children, by example as well as precept, in other countries,[†] is not very common in England. The poorest man will be heard to say that his shilling is as good as that of the rich; and I have known instances where patriotic schoolmasters would not punish a boy who had transgressed before he was found guilty by twelve of his school-fellows, to make them early sensible of the privilege of a Briton, not to be judged in an arbitrary or a despotic way, but by his peers, or equals. In general, the children of both sexes in England are educated with a much greater degree of indulgence than in other countries. In some eminent grammar schools, a kind of severe punishment, called flogging, is still in use; but it is supposed that it rather hardens than reforms.

[To be continued.]

* Hume's Essays, Vol. I. p. 215.

† The states of America are to be excepted, and also France, if the revolution is completed.

REVIEW OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

FOREIGN.

LA VIE DE JOSEPH II. EMPEREUR D' ALLEMAGNE. *The Life of Joseph II. Emperor of Germany, by the Marquis de Carraccioli.* Paris, 1790.

THE author of this life informs us, in a preliminary discourse, that having foreseen the death of the late emperor some time before it happened, he had employed himself in collecting materials to compose his life; that he had himself been a witness of several useful institutions and regulations, which owed their existence to that prince; and had made diligent enquiry respecting every thing that concerned him.

Such precautions were certainly praiseworthy, but it is easy to see that the marquis is inclined to be the panegyrist of Joseph, rather than an impartial biographer. However, the life of this prince certainly affords ample matter for the contemplation of the philosopher, the legislator, and the moralist.

Circumstances, says our author, led Joseph on further than his genius would otherwise have carried him; and he often appeared ardent in a cause, when he was only guided by events. Having thus prepared us for the character of his hero, he proceeds to detail the events of his life.

Joseph, who was sprung from the royal houses of Austria and Lorraine, and could boast of as high an antiquity, and as noble a genealogy as any prince in Europe, was born in 1741, during the war which arose concerning the will of Charles VI. and at the age of six months was presented by his mother to the states of Austria at Presburg, who, in an animated speech, solicited their support, which was readily promised.

His mother educated him with great care, and inculcated into her

son the strictest virtue. History and geography he became perfectly master of, and in 1754 he was invested with the order of the Golden Fleece. In 1757, he was attacked by the small-pox, but happily recovered, and pursued his studies with great avidity.

In 1760, he was married to Isabella, infanta of Parma, grand daughter of Lewis XV. a woman for whom he had a high and deserved affection; she in 1760 brought him a daughter. Joseph still continued his studies, and was particularly fond of receiving instruction in the military art, from those celebrated generals Daun, Landon, and Lacy. In 1761, he was admitted into the council of state, and the same year had the misfortune to lose the archduchess his spouse, by a miscarriage. This loss made Joseph apply himself closer than ever to study, to divert his melancholy. He was soon after elected and crowned King of the Romans, and succeeded his father as emperor in 1769.

Joseph immediately turned his attention to a number of abuses in the administration of justice, and in his efforts was assisted by the celebrated prince Kaunitz. He reduced the number of his numerous attendants, issued many ordinances for the ease of the people, encouraged marriage, and did many acts of particular benevolence. The emperor had taken for his second wife Jofepha, daughter of the elector of Bavaria, whom he soon lost, and which determined him to think no more of marriage. He soon after visited Rome *incognito*, during the conclave for the election of a pope, occasioned by the death of Clement XIII. He entered the conclave, and, contrary to the established custom, was permitted to wear his sword. From Rome he proceeded to Naples, visited Mount Vesuvius, the ruins of Pompeia, and every thing

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thing worth notice, and then went to Florence, Turin, and returned to Schonbrun.

He next set off to have an interview with the king of Prussia, with whom he had a long conference. The dismemberment of Poland soon after came on the carpet. Joseph still proceeded in his plans of reform, by consent of the new pope. Many of the holy days which had been formerly kept, were suppressed, and some of the religious were compelled to work for their living. The curates were directed to dispose of their lands to form a general fund, for an equal support for all pastors, of whom some lived in affluence, while others wanted necessaries. Another regulation does this prince the greatest honour, which was releasing the Austrian peasants, who were *serfs*, or slaves, from the injustice and violence of their lords.

Our author endeavours to palliate that unjust action of Catharine, Joseph, and Frederic, the partition of Poland, an action which policy may justify, but equity never can. Joseph endeavoured by gentle means to conciliate the new subjects he had gained by this treaty. He had some time before married his sister to the dauphin of France, who, in 1774, became king by the death of Lewis XV. He soon after paid the new king and queen a visit at Versailles. In this and his former journeys he travelled under the title of Count Falkenstein, and after having visited many other parts of France, returned to Vienna.

Every thing now seemed to announce an approaching war, camps were formed, troops exercised, and memorials published relative to the succession of Bavaria, and in July 1778, the Prussian troops entered Saxony. The event of this war is well known, which terminated by the peace of Teschen in 1779.

An interview with Catharine, empress of Russia, took place soon after, and in 1780, he had the misfortune to lose his mother, the empress Maria Teresa. By her death he succeeded

to all his hereditary estates. Her death opened a way for Joseph to proceed farther in his plans of reform. He proceeded to the Low Countries, and thence to Holland. Were we to follow this restless mortal through all his post-haste journeys, we should never have done.

The noblest acts of Joseph's life were his granting toleration to the protestants, and abolishing slavery in Bohemia. The bold steps taken also against the abuses of the clergy alarmed the pope, and the pontiff made a journey to Vienna to induce the emperor to change his purpose.

This prince not only paid great attention to political affairs, but the sciences he also particularly attended to. The suppression of the convents, and of particular imposts, all tended to the welfare of his estates. Happy for him could he have confined himself here; but he could not avoid disputes with his neighbours, in which he did not always come off with equal eclat. The contest with Holland, the interview with Catharine, the subsequent war, and the disturbance in the Low Countries, are recent events, and well known.

But we must now hasten to his latter end, which was long foreseen. When convinced of his approaching dissolution, "the grave (says our author,) which opened before his eyes, did not appal him;" he regulated his own funeral, on the day of his death, the 20th of February, 1790, and expired soon after, at the age of 49. His character is drawn by his biographer in very favourable colours. To many of his virtues we must give our assent, but to the indiscriminate praise bestowed on him by the marquis, we can by no means accede.

TABLEAU DES REVOLUTIONS DE L' EUROPE DANS L' MOYEN AGE. Or a *View of the Revolutions of Europe in the middle age, enriched with chronological and genealogical Tables.* By M. Koch. Strasburg, 2 vol. 8vo. ALTHOUGH we possess many works of this kind, yet this does not the

the less merit the attention of an enlightened reader. M. Koch here presents a connected account of the history of the middle age, from the downfall of the Roman empire, in the west, to the taking of Constantinople by the Turks; that is, from the year 400 to 1481, the epocha of the death of Mahomet II. The different governments formed in Europe since the fifth century, connected by their situation, have formed an union of interests and commerce, which a conformity of language, religion, and manners has since cemented more and more; these connections, which have advanced the progres of arts and sciences, have likewise served to bring about great revolutions. Many nations, which have successively held the rank of conquering powers, have extended their legislation, arts, and institutions beyond their own territories. The influence of these revolutions over several states at once, and the variations which the system of Europe has experienced, can only be shewn by a general view. This is the plan of Mr. Koch's work. His history is divided into five periods, agreeable to the changes which have happened in the European system during the ten centuries, which he denominates the middle age. Each period begins with the general revolution, is followed by a detailed history of the preponderating state, and concludes with that of each state in particular.

Mr. Koch informs us, that this work will soon be followed with an account of the revolutions of the three last ages. Although the author treats principally of Europe, yet he has not neglected the revolutions which have happened in Asia, when they have had any connection with the former, and as the principal duty of an historian is to be true and exact, he has taken care to establish proofs of the principal events, and has added many useful notes concerning geography, chronology, and genealogy. To render the work more useful, he has added chronological tables of the

principal revolutions, and genealogical tables of the principal royal families of Europe.

In the first period, our author gives a view of those innumerable hosts of barbarians which over-ran the western part of the Roman empire, which gave birth to the principal kingdoms of Europe, and introduced every where the feudal customs. During this period the grandeur of the popes began, by mutual succour given by Stephen II. and Pepin, to each other.

The second period extends from 800 to 962. During this period Charlemagne and his descendants alone distinguished themselves, the other kingdoms merit little notice. Our author examines the cause of the decline of the vast empire, which under this prince embraced Gaul, great part of Germany, Italy, part of Spain and Panonia. He principally blames the feudal system, nor does he neglect the division of the sovereignties, the power of the nobles, the civil wars, and the incursions of the Normans and Hungarians. In this period we find the origin of the Ottoman religion, the passage of the Arabs into Europe, their establishment in Spain, and the decay of their empire.

In the third period from Otho the Great to Henry III. who was the cause of the aggrandisement of the Germans. The conquest of Lorraine, the reunion of Italy and the imperial dignity, far from being advantageous to Germany, were sources of long wars, which brought on a decay of the imperial authority, and the fall of the empire. The conquest of Hungary by Henry III. was of more real service; and under him and Conrad II. the empire of Germany obtained its highest pitch of grandeur and power.

A system of policy, followed by the popes, long supported the authority and credit of the Roman emperors. The whole body of Christians formed as it were but a single republic, whose temporal chief was the emperor, and whose spiritual was

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the pope. As chiefs of Christianity, the emperors protected the Romish church, commanded their armies against the Infidels, and believed themselves alone invested with the power to create kings. Boleslaus, duke of Poland, having in 1077, taken the royal dignity without the previous assent of the emperor, the states thought themselves authorized to declare war against him. Of the pre-eminence enjoyed by the emperors of the middle age, the right of precedence is now only allowed them.

Mr. Koch here seems to believe that the emperors enjoyed the right of nominating, or at least of confirming the popes; and we may observe, that the balance of power in Europe was transferred from the French to the Germans. Our author in this section also adverts to what passed in Spain, to the conquest of England by the Normans, to the success of the same people in Italy, and to the people of the North. He speaks also of the schism of the Greeks, the division of their empire, and the incursions of the Turks and barbarians.

The fourth period, from 1074 to 1273, begins with the contests between the emperor and the papal see, which so long agitated Germany and Italy, and became the source of the famous factions of the Guelps and Gibelines, of which the former adhered to the pope, and the latter to the emperor. In this period we have the history of the Crusades, and various other interesting subjects, which our limits will not permit us to enter into. And the fifth period, which extends from the time of Rhodolphus of Hapsburg, to the taking of Constantinople, embraces a still more extensive field. In speaking of the revolutions which have altered the face of Europe, our author enters at large into those inventions which have principal-

ly contributed to effect them. One of these was the invention of gunpowder, and the other of printing. Of powder, he first takes a view of the discovery of salt-petre, the great ingredient in it, the mixing it with sulphur and charcoal, to produce gunpowder, the application of this invention to fire-works, then to throw balls, and lastly, to mining.

As to the invention of printing, so long disputed between the cities of Mayence and Straßburg, Mr. Koch determines in favour of Straßburg.

A discovery full as useful, and which may be attributed to the same period, was the invention of the mariners compass. We do not find either among the Greek or Latin authors, any text which proves they had the knowledge of the directing virtue of the magnet, although they speak of its power to attract iron. Mr. Koch enters into an enquiry respecting the discoverer of this admirable property. The pretensions of the Normans he does not admit. The French, he admits, have some claim to the discovery, as one of their provincial poets has given a correct description of a mariner's compass. From the consideration of this invention, Mr. Koch proceeds to reflections on the progress of commerce and navigation.

Of the style of this work we shall not say much, as it certainly wants elegance. Nor is the transition our author makes from one subject to another, well managed. The multiplicity of objects treated of, is rather fatiguing to the reader, but then we must consider that our author does not write merely a history, but a general view of the times. On the whole, this work shews deep researches, and a profound study of history; and we sincerely hope M. Koch may succeed as well in his intended work as he has in this.

BRITISH PUBLICATIONS.

VOYAGES TO THE NORTH-WEST COAST OF AMERICA. By John Meares, Esq.

(Continued.)

THE Felice left the Iphigenia at Samboingan, preparing to take her foremast on board. As soon as the Felice departed, the governor altered his conduct, and having learned that the Iphigenia had a considerable quantity of iron on board, an article of the greatest value in those parts, he conceived a plan to get possession of it. The ship being ready for sea, an officer was sent on shore to settle accounts with the governor, and was told by him, that his demand must be paid in iron, for which he would settle the price. Besides this, the officer and boat's crew were arrested and put into a dungeon; a second party sent on shore shared the same fate, and a proa with fifty men, was sent to take possession of the ship. Captain Douglas, on this, went on shore, and after every expostulation, was obliged to pay him seventy-eight bars of iron, near half his investment of that article.

The ship sailed the 22d of February, and on the 9th of March, saw a small island, the natives of which came on board them, and bartered cocoa nuts and taro root for iron: they named it Johnstone's island. It lies in lat. 3 deg. 11 min. N. long. and 131 deg. 12 min. E.

About this time a severe sickness afflicted the crew, and Tawnee, one of the Sandwich islanders, died. On the 4th of April they discovered some islands, the natives came off in their canoes, bringing cocoa nuts, and pronounced the word *English*. Capt. Douglas continued to stand off, and a boat followed the ship for a long time.

One of the people, he says, cried out, from time to time, *Eeboo, Eeboo*, and made signs for them to go back; and when he perceived that he could not persuade them, his actions bore

the appearance of a man in the most frantic distress. Another canoe also followed them, making the same signs; but as the ship had then some dangerous rocks under her lee, no attention was paid to them. In short, Captain Douglas was then among the Pellew islands, and concludes that the canoes which followed his ship, were sent out with a view to meet Lee Boo, whose amiable character Mr. Keate has painted in such pleasing colours.

On the 13th April they saw the island of Amluk; and the 6th June, the island of Trinity, near the entrance of Cook's River, which they soon after reached, and where they intended to recruit their wood, water, and provisions. Many of the inhabitants came on board, and, from their appearing armed, there was reason to think they were at war, either with the Russians or the Kodiak Indians. After staying here some days, dispatching the long-boat up the river without gaining any information, and meeting with little success in trade, they sailed to the southward. They touched at Snug-Corner cove, and proceeded along the coast to the southward, until they reached Cross-cape, where they traded with the Indians, and observed among the people here, a very singular circumstance. Among those savages, the women seemed to possess an acknowledged superiority over the men. One of the chiefs having unintentionally interrupted a canoe (in which was a woman) from coming to the ship: she seized a paddle and struck him violently with it on the head, and continued to repeat her blows; she afterwards cut him with a knife, and he was saved from further vengeance by Captain Douglas. This did not appear a power peculiar to her alone, for the men could not dispose of a skin until the women granted permission.

On the 11th of August they entered a bay which was named Sea-Otter harbour,

boar, from the immense number of those animals they saw there. They also saw a great number of whales blowing. In lat. 52 deg. 7 min. N. they entered a bay which they called Port Meares, where they had some success in trade, and continuing their course to the southward, on the 28th of August they joined the Felice in Nootka Sound. Here they remained until the 17th of October, and then sailed in company with the schooner called the North West America, for Owhyhee, in the Sandwich islands, where they arrived on the 6th of December. Tianna met his brother at Mowee; their meeting was tender and affectionate. When they reached Owhyhee, the king came on board and offered Captain Douglas every kind of assistance.

A few days after their arrival, the schooner parted from her anchor, and some of the natives were employed as divers to bring it up. The following ceremony was performed before they began: several calabashes with taro-root were presented to the chief, who, after eating of it, gave three loud yells, and waved a piece of white cloth over his head as a signal, on which six men plunged into the water. Four of them remained under water about five minutes, the fifth about a minute longer, and came up almost exhausted, and the sixth near seven minutes and a half, when he appeared near the surface, but sinking again. Three of the divers plunged after him, and brought him up in a senseless state, the blood issuing from his mouth and nostrils. When he recovered, he reported, that he had cleared the cable, but the anchor lay too deep to be recovered. On unmooring the ship, to carry her into a safer place, they found their cable cut, and as the king instantly quitted the ship, they had no doubt where to fix their suspicion; and on using some threats, the divers were employed and recovered the anchor. Tianna was landed here with his treasures, and the Iphigenia sailed for Woahoo, and

from thence to Atooí and other islands, to procure provisions, with which being supplied, they returned for the American coast. Nothing remarkable occurred, except that between lat. 36 19. and 36 10. N. and long. 208 and 210, it became impossible to steer the ship, the compasses flying about four or five points in a moment.

In Nootka Sound they were interrupted, by the Spanish officer, in their trade, which has been the cause of the late dispute with Spain; but the Iphigenia being permitted to depart, steered along the coast to the northward, and after endeavouring to open a trade in several places, they sailed again for the Sandwich islands, where a design was formed to surprise the ship, but happily prevented; and leaving that place, they came to an anchor at Macoa, in China, the 4th of October, 1789.

To this voyage is added an appendix, containing instructions to Captain Meares, and from him to Captain Douglas, respecting the conduct of the voyage; Mr. Meares's memorial respecting the seizure of the ship; and various other papers. On the whole, we think this publication is a valuable addition to our present collection of voyages.

REMARKS ON THE VOYAGES OF
JOHN MEARES, Esq. in a letter
to that gentleman; by George Dixon,
late commander of the Queen Charlotte,
in a voyage round the world.
4to. pamphlet.

CAPTAIN DIXON, who made the voyage round the world in company with Capt. Portlock of the King George, seems much hurt at some reflections which seem pointed at him in Meares's voyage, and, in return, has attacked the narrative of the latter with great virulence, and, we think, has shewn no little portion of spleen.

"To point out half your absurdities (he says to Capt. Meares) would fill

a volume as large as your own. I shall point out some of your numerous errors, as they occurred to me."

Had Capt. Dixon confined his remarks to such parts of the narrative as concern the nautical information, we should have allowed him more credit for this work; but as he introduces several circumstances with which the public have nothing to do, we are apt to think private pique has greatly influenced him.

Mr. Meares had accused Captains Portlock and Dixon of furnishing the Indians with arms and ammunition, and here Dixon retorts the accusation with some degree of severity. We sincerely wish some regulation was made to prevent these adventurers from putting our destructive arms into the hands of those untutored savages.

But the most essential part of the objections, and the chief indeed, in which the public have any concern, is the laying down places in the charts in wrong latitudes. This, if true, is certainly a most heavy charge, and is highly deserving of exemplary punishment. As the case stands, we are sorry to say, this dispute cannot be easily decided, and we much fear some future navigators may have reason to reflect on one or other of these gentlemen for having misled them.

We cannot conclude without advising these two seamen rather to drop any animosity they may have entertained against each other, and jointly endeavour to set each other right. This will certainly be a much more meritorious line of conduct, than, by recrimination, to bring disgrace and throw doubts on both their observations.

A VIEW OF ENGLAND TOWARDS THE CLOSE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By Fred. Aug. Wendeborn, LL.D. Translated from the original German by the author himself. 2 vol. 8vo. Robinsons.

THE original of this work, the author informs us in his preface, was

published in Germany about five years ago, where it has been much read, and has been translated into other languages. It was written, he says, merely for the instruction of his own countrymen, and with no intention of translating it into English, until the Monthly Review took notice of it, and the author was informed several translations were in hand; he then set about it himself, and to make it more agreeable to his English readers, has omitted some passages relative to matters well known.

We have read this book with great satisfaction, and although the work of a foreigner, who may be supposed not so well acquainted with the circumstances as a native, yet we may pronounce it a valuable acquisition to the nation, as it contains much information, which we believe will be found new to the general run of readers. Mr. W. has shewn great observation and great candour, and when he errs in his account of any particular circumstance, the errors are so trivial, that it is more with a view for him to correct, that we take notice of them, than to criticize.

Mr. W. begins his view with an account of the English constitution, in which he has avoided following the blunders of Montesquieu, or the silly romances of Blackstone or De Lolme.

Of the king, our author observes, that his power, although limited, is yet very great. The right of the king to refuse his assent to bills, is, although Mr. W. lays it down as one of his prerogatives, we believe, not quite clear. It has not been exercised since the revolution, it has, we know, been denied in council, and it has been tacitly given up by the present monarch, by his using his influence to prevent Mr. Fox's India bill from passing the house of lords.

Of the nobility, Mr. W. speaks with great spirit. They are, he observes, numerous and rich, but the style of life of many of them is such, that even their large incomes are not sufficient for their extravagant expences. Hence

Hence it arises, that some among them are burthened with debts, cringe at court, and are unmindful of their own dignity, and the welfare of their country.—Hear this, ye titled sycophants, and blush, if you can, at your own degeneracy. There have been, Mr. W. observes, many men of science and literature among the English nobility, but the times seem to be altered.

The commons, and people, are next considered, and the ridiculous affectation of consequence assumed by the gentry and commonalty, is well ridiculed. On presenting an address from the city of London, says he, every one whose wife wishes to be called *my lady*, acquires the honour of knighthood. The title of esquire is applied in a very degraded style, and that of gentleman much more so. Among these he justly reckons as a burthen to the country, the younger sons of the nobility, who are to be provided for at the public expence; to these may be added that part of the gentry who live beyond their fortunes, and who come under the same denomination. Of the house of commons, Mr. W. speaks with respect, and compares the eloquence of that house to that of Demosthenes and Cicero; but at the same time remarks on its useless tendency, since, on the call of *the question*, the minister is sure of his majority.

Mr. Wendeborn remarks, that since monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, have their imperfections, it is not easy to conceive, that a compound of these imperfections should become a perfection. Yet such is the English constitution, which appears to our author very defective, and that it contains within itself the causes of its own destruction. The power of the crown is very great, and, he justly observes, can generally procure a majority in both houses, and by these means it becomes in fact the legislative power, and does as it pleases. If the minister of the crown has sufficient money and patronage to procure a majority, he is safe, and

may govern as he likes, or as he is ordered by his master. The royal power and prerogative are a perpetual thunder cloud hovering over the liberties of the people. The nobility incline to the side of government. In the lower house the majority are dependent on the minister, by means of places and pensions. These circumstances, and the duration of parliament for seven years, forebode, Mr. Wendeborn thinks, no great stability to the liberty of the English.

The English laws, courts of judicature, and manner of administering justice, are well described; but the collection of the statutes he calls a monster in its kind. The army and navy are likewise properly noticed. The debts, taxes, provision for the poor, population, commerce, and manufactures, form the subjects of the next chapters; from the latter we shall give the following extract:

I have observed, that several modern British writers, who have made the political state of England the subject of their enquiries, take great pains to establish an opinion, as if Great Britain had, by means, attained hitherto the summit of her power and splendour, and that a century would first elapse, before that period arrived. I confess I cannot persuade myself of the truth of this assertion. Riches, power, and what is called glory, are relative notions. Among private persons and families, as well as among nations, they refer to circumstances and situations. It may be, that England, by her navigation, commerce, and manufactures, acquires a greater plenty of money; it may happen, that she increases her navy and her armies, and becomes to be more dreaded, envied, and hated by other nations; it is possible that her landed interest, her luxury, her imposts, and taxes, increase; but is it to be expected, that the British nation will proportionably become more happy than others? People who adopt this way of thinking, and who talk in such a strain, seem to forget, that true happiness does not consist in mere imagination, but is as *unique* in its kind as truth itself. The latter may differ in regard to the degrees of light and shade in which it is seen by intelligent beings; the former admits likewise of degrees in which it is perceived and enjoyed; but, in fact, and by nature, truth is but one, and with happiness it is the same.

On this supposition, therefore, I hope to meet with indulgence, when I venture to say, paradoxical as it may appear, that the ancient Britons, in Caesar's time, without brilliant manufactures and an extensive commerce, might be deemed to have been equally happy with the present English; perhaps more so. I readily grant that they were infinitely poorer than those who call themselves, in our days, Britons: but it should be remembered that their wants were very few. They underwent neither the troubles nor the danger which attended those who were in pursuit of riches; they knew nothing of the care to keep them; nor the plagues which attended those who spend them in a fashionable manner, to procure to themselves an imaginary happiness, which they find, in the end, to be an empty phantom. The ancient Britons could easily satisfy their wants, and bear hardships and adversities more patiently, and with more indifference, than our modern English, who are much given to suicide, and many of whom, notwithstanding their riches, their affluence, and their pride, lay violent hands on themselves as well as the wretched, which, I presume, was not the case among the English of old. The great, so very unequally divided, and partly imaginary riches, reduce the greatest part of the nation to a state of necessity, since living is so extravagantly dear, and more than half of what the middling people spend for their support, goes towards government's taxes and imposts. Sometimes necessity, sometimes the interest of the nation, sometimes honour, sometimes national pride, sometimes court intrigues, sometimes factions and party animosities, will lead to almost perpetual wars, in which the lives of thousands are sacrificed: for we poor mortals have alone found out that horrid art of fabricating weapons to destroy our own species, when even furious tygers, among themselves, and cruel bears, as the poet says, preferre ad everlasting peace.

[To be continued.]

SKETCHES, CHIEFLY RELATING
TO THE HISTORY, RELIGION,
LEARNING, AND MANNERS OF
THE HINDOOS. With a concise
Account of the present State of the
native Powers of Hindostan. 8vo.
Cadell.

THE Hindoos are a people who, as well on account of their great antiquity as the singularity of their

manners and customs, well deserve the researches of the learned. Our author, in the work now before us, has not attempted a laboured inquiry, but only some few sketches on the history, &c. of that singular nation: slight as they are, they have great merit, and will, we flatter ourselves, stimulate others to a further investigation.

Our author begins his work by some general reflections on the history and religion of mankind, and justly observes that the enquiries to ascertain how the various countries of the world became peopled must ever be in vain. Equally in the dark are we, when we endeavour to trace the rise and progress of religion.

"There is," he says, "no nation, however barbarous, nor any individual, whatever, for the sake of false celebrity, he may pretend, who has not a sense of a supreme ruling power."

In this declaration we most cordially agree with him, and think Mr. Burke should reflect on it, before he again dares to brand an enlightened nation with the epithet of Atheists.

All religions, he observes, whether Christian, Mahomedan, or Hindoo, lay claim to a divine origin. Our author slightly examines these claims, and shews that the first light of natural religion arose from the east.

He then proceeds to examining the doubtful opinions of Pherecides, Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Zeno, and Epicurus, on that subject, and of some of the ancients, on the immortality of the soul. In the midst of these doubts, Christianity was announced, and, by clearing them up, made a great progress. Why this religion has made so little advance among the Hindoos our author ascribes to the religion of that people, which was held by them in the greatest respect, was averse to all persecution, and had already taught them the immortality of the soul.

Haying

Having thus finished his first, or introductory sketch, he proceeds, in the second, to enquire into the sources of information concerning Hindostan. From our favourite ancients, the Greeks and Romans, we learn but little; modern enquiries have assisted us greatly, and the persevering researches of the English and French have thrown great light on this subject.

The history of Hindostan occupies the third sketch, and we find an epic poem, founded on the wars between the two branches of the house of Bharats, above four thousand years old, and an account of a battle fought 3102 years before Christ; convincing proofs of the great antiquity of that people. The conquests of India by Alexander, by Aurengzebe, by Timor, and by Kouli Khan, are too well known to be repeated.

We cannot follow our author through the whole of his work, but shall, hereafter, give our readers such extracts as we think worthy their notice, confining ourselves here to an account of the outlines.

Sketch IV. contains an account of the government, public buildings, forts, and residences, of the Rajahs. Sketch V. of the Crafts. Sketch VI. of the Devotees. Sketch VII. of the Religion. Sketch VIII. of the Mythology. Sketch IX. of the Devotion and Worship. Sketch X. of the Learning and Philosophy of the Bramins. Sketch XI. of their Astronomy. Sketch XII. of their Manners and Customs, and the work concludes with the history and present political state of the Hindoos.

Of the devotees of the Hindoo religion we have heard much, but the following account of these extraordinary people cannot be unacceptable.

In every part of Hindostan we meet with numbers of devotees, distinguished by various names, but not restricted to

any cast. They are such from choice, and every Hindoo, except the Chandalah, is at liberty to adopt this mode of life.

Of all the numerous classes of devotees, none are so much respected as the Saniassies and Yogeys. They quit their relations, and every concern of life, and wander about the country, without any fixed abode.

The precise distinction between the Yoge and the Saniassie is not known: the former, in Sanskrit, signifies a devout person; the latter, one who had entirely forsaken this world. It is said, in the dialogues between Krishna and Arjoon, "in the Mahabarat."

Is it not improbable that some of the passages in the sacred writings which were enigmatical, being understood literally by the ignorant, have given rise to those extravagant penances with which some of the devotees torture themselves? In one of the above quotations, they seem even to be condemned; the Yoge being said to be more exalted than the Tapahvec, &c.

I saw one of the latter, who, having made a vow to keep his arms constantly extended over his head, with his hands clasped together, they were become withered and immovable. Not long ago, one of them finished measuring the distance between Benares and Jaggernaut, with his body, by alternately stretching himself upon the ground, and rising; which, if he performed it as faithfully as he pretended, must have taken some years to accomplish.

Some make vows to keep their arms crossed over their breasts for the rest of their days; others to keep their hands for ever shut; and their nails are sometimes seen growing through the back of their hands: some are chained to a particular spot, and others never lie down, but sleep leaning against a tree. There are frequent instances of devotees and penitents throwing themselves under the wheels of the chariots* of Sheevah or Vishnou, when the idol is drawn out to celebrate the feast of a temple, and being thereby crushed to death; and not long since we saw an account of the aged father of a numerous offspring, who devoted himself to the flames, to appease the wrath of a divinity, who, as he imagined, had, for some time past, afflicted his family and neighbours with a mortal epidemic disease.

The Pandarams on the coast of Coromandel are followers of Sheevah; they rub their faces and bodies, and go about the towns and villages singing the praises of their god.

* These chariots are, more properly, great, moveable towers, which require some hundreds of men to draw them.

The Cary-patry Paudarams are a set of religious persons who make a vow never to speak; they go to doors of houses and demand charity by striking their hands together. They take nothing but rice, which is given them ready prepared, and if it be sufficient to satisfy their hunger, they pass the rest of the day by sitting in the shade, and scarcely looking at any object that may come before them.

The Tadinuns go about begging, and singing the history of the different incarnations of Vishnu. They beat a kind of tabor; and have hollow, bras rings round their ankles, which, being filled with small pebbles, make a considerable noise as they walk along.

The ancients knew that there were different classes of devotees amongst the Hindoos. Strabo speaks of three, one that lived in the forests, and among the mountains; one that went naked, and a third, less rigid, who frequented the towns and villages: but he, as well as others, frequently confounded them with the Brahmins. Those who came to the camp of Alexander and his officers are not said to have gone naked, nor to have committed any of those acts of extravagance.

Their lives are uniformly and indolently decent, and they give themselves up, more or less, to study, according to their genius or character.

A GENERAL VIEW OF SWEDEN.
Containing, besides a Geographical Description of the Country, an Account of the Constitution, Religion, Civil and Criminal Laws, Internal Commerce, Finances, Money, Weights, and Measures. Translated from the French of Mr. Catteau. 8vo. Robinsons.

MR. Catteau, from a long residence in Sweden, and a good knowledge of the language, seems well qualified for the task he has undertaken. He takes a wide range, and has consulted, he tells us, a variety of authors, to enable him to complete his plan; but has fallen into the errors of many of his countrymen, and has omitted to quote his authorities as he proceeds, which takes greatly from the merit of the work. The political state of kingdoms, every person of any degree in life, ought to be acquainted with, and this kind of knowledge, as the translator judiciously observes, is pec-

uliarly useful to the natives of this country.

Mr. Catteau first treats of the soil, climate, and history of Sweden; he then proceeds to an account of the king's title, coronation, court, and residence, in all which we do not find any thing worthy of repeating. The connection of Sweden with foreign powers, shews the consequence that kingdom holds in the political scale of Europe. It has had treaties with the Empire, France, England, Hanover, Prussia, Holland, Denmark, Poland, Turkey, and other powers; all of which Mr. Catteau particularizes, and many of them still exist.

The constitution of a country is an object of great importance; on this Mr. Catteau dwells for some length. There are few countries, he observes, have undergone so many changes of constitution as Sweden. In the remotest ages it had a monarch, a senate, and states. During the union of Calmar despotism reigned. Under Gustavus I. the senate and states were powerful, and their privileges were preserved under Gustavus Adolphus and his daughter, Charles X. proposed to humble them, but death put an end to his projects. Under the monarchy of Charles XI. their influence increased; but that monarch in 1680, made himself absolutely sovereign; and in 1719, the whole supreme power reverted to the states, the sovereign being wholly confined to the executive power, and to the appointment to offices, and in 1756, even those prerogatives were abridged. But in 1772, the great revolution was effected, which fixed the constitution of Sweden on the following basis.

The king shall be the only and supreme chief of the nation; but bound to respect the established laws, which shall alone determine respecting the honour, the happiness, and the lives of his subjects. The senators shall be his counsellors, and give him their advice, sometimes as a body, and sometimes separately. The king, however, shall have the right of deciding, except in affairs of justice, in which he shall have only two votes, and a decisive vote in cases where the votes upon both sides are equal. Senators appointed by

the king shall be responsible to him only. Other offices shall also be in his gift; a very important privilege, in a country where great fortunes are uncommon, and where there are few citizens who possess independence. The king may restore to their honours and estates, those whom the laws have deprived of them; and he may pardon such criminals as have been capitally convicted. Different bodies shall be appointed to support the monarch in the internal administration of the kingdom. The army shall take an oath of fidelity to the king and the states. The representatives of the nation shall not assemble but when convoked by the king; and their deliberations shall not continue beyond three months at most. The king shall consult the states respecting any reformation in the laws; and the states shall consult him, in their turn, concerning the same important object. The king alone shall have the right of coining the current money; but he must have the consent of the states, in order to change its value. Their consent is also necessary for carrying on offensive wars; but, if the kingdom is attacked, he may march troops into the field by his own authority, and even raise subsidies, in cases of necessity. These subsidies, however, shall cease with the war; and the states must be then assembled, to take such measures as may be thought most expedient. Their approbation shall be requisite in all other cases, in which the king may be desirous of levying new taxes. The states are empowered to appoint the members of the secret committee, who shall deliberate with the king upon such objects as it may be thought advisable not to communicate to the public. The four orders shall retain the privileges which they enjoy; but none of them, in particular, shall obtain new ones, without the consent of the rest. These privileges have often been a source of division and debate; those of the nobility are most extensive, and the other orders have upon more than one occasion, shewn that they were jealous of them. The king alone shall take upon him the administration of the German provinces; but he shall govern them according to the conventions of the peace of Westphalia. The cities of Sweden shall be maintained in the full possession of those rights which they formerly acquired; but they shall, nevertheless, resign them when the common good may require such a sacrifice. The bank of Stockholm shall remain under the guarantee of the states—a very material article for the prosperity of the kingdom, as the support of national credit depends essentially upon it. The kingdom declared hereditary under Gustavus I. shall be so for ever. The heir to the throne shall

take his seat in the council at the age of eighteen, and at twenty he shall be major.

The new form of government was sanctioned by universal approbation, and the seeds of discord seemed to be destroyed by this revolution: but the calm did not long continue, and new clouds obscured the political horizon of Sweden. About the end of the diet of 1778, the harmony between the king and the representatives of the nation was a little interrupted; but during that of 1786, a decided opposition was formed. Of four propositions offered by the king, one only was passed. It was resolved, that a junction of the three orders was necessary to form a plurality, except in cases relating to taxes, or the particular privileges of each order. The states agreed also, that the term *welfare*, employed in the paragraph respecting the form of government which fixes the privileges of the citizen, should comprehend offices likewise; and that people could not be deprived of them, without a legal process. The determination of the states, on these two points, being communicated to the king, he declared that they were agreeable to his own ideas.

Our author then goes on to recite the circumstances which followed, and then gives an account of the organization of the present diet.

It is composed of the king and the four orders, the nobility, clergy, citizens, and peasants. The nobility are divided into three classes, that of counts and barons, that of knights or ancient gentlemen, without titles, and that of esquires, *Sven*, comprehending all untitled gentlemen who have obtained letters of nobility since the reiga of Charles XI. There are reckoned to be in Sweden 300 noble families, which is a great number in a kingdom containing scarcely three millions of inhabitants. The eldest of each family sits in the diet, under the name of *caput familie*. The regulations drawn up by Gustavus Adolphus, and known under the title of *Regulations for the Hotel of the Nobility*, serve as a guide to this order during the sitting of the states. A marshal, appointed by the king, presides over their deliberations, and in his absence the eldest count.

The fourteen prelates of the kingdom, that is to say, the archbishop of Upsal and the thirteen bishops, have a right, by their offices, to assist at the diet, and each archdeaconry deputes one or two representatives, elected by a plurality of votes. Every beneficed clergyman whatever has a right of voting at these elections; but those generally chosen are archdeacons.

cons or sectors. The expences of these deputies are defrayed by their constituents. The archbishop of Upsal is speaker of the order, and failing him, the bishop of Linköping.

The citizens are represented by the deputies of cities. Stockholm has ten; cities of the second class have two or three; and the rest send only one. It sometimes happens; that two small cities are represented by the same person, for the sake of economy, because the expences of the deputies must be defrayed by their constituents. To be qualified to vote, one must be a citizen, and twenty-four years of age; those who are elected must have also attained to the same age, and have been enrolled citizens three years.

Farmers who cultivate lands belonging to them and their descendants, as long as they fulfil their engagements with the crown, constitute in the diet the order of peasants. Sweden is the only country where the representatives of the body of labourers form a separate and distinct class in the national assembly. Many deliberations respecting the public interests may arise, and many objects may occur, which a peasant can neither be acquainted with nor appreciate; but there are many discussed also, which concern him in a peculiar manner, and for the explanation of which, his sentiments may be of the greatest utility. In discussions even which appear to be beyond his knowledge, he may catch some luminous points of view, if the subject be presented to him in a proper light, without any false colouring. Plain good sense, and natural logic judge often as soundly, as the mind cultivated by application and study. Each bailiwick appoints a deputy, and defrays his expences. The order of the peasants, and that of the citizens, have a speaker named by the king, who also appoints a secretary to the peasants; his office is a civil employment, and he has always a great deal of influence. The army may be represented in the states when summoned to attend by letters of convocation; the colonels of the different regiments, and a certain number of commissioned officers, are its deputies. There are in Sweden several proprietors of land, mines, and forges, who belong to none of the four orders of the kingdom; as this class of citizens did not exist when the states were organised, they are not at present represented.

The opening and closing of the diet exhibits a grand and beautiful spectacle. The king, in all the insignia of royal majesty, goes from the castle to the cathedral, followed by the states in procession, and divine service is performed as usual, except that the sermon is always

preached by a bishop. From the cathedral his majesty repairs to a hall in the castle, destined for receiving the representatives of the nation; the assembly is then formed, and the monarch, seated on his throne, delivers a discourse, to which the marshal and the speakers return an answer. If there are any petitions to be laid before the states, they are read by the chancellor of the court. Every thing engages the attention of the spectator, in this august scene; but nothing strikes him so much as the part acted by the peasants. How delightful to see the labourer, in a simple and rustic dress, take his seat close to other citizens; approach the throne with confidence, and speak to his sovereign without fear, and without embarrassment! Ye unfortunate peasants of Russia and Poland, how different is your condition from this noble state of existence! You moisten the earth with the sweat of your brows; you till it with pain; and the sweet idea of none of those privileges or advantages which do honour to humanity, and exalt mankind, ever alleviates your misfortunes, or carries joy and consolation to your cottages! You have neither country nor possessions; a cruel despot sacrifices you to his caprice; and you dare not give vent to those complaints which a torn and bleeding heart conveys to your lips! Forgive, O reader, this involuntary emotion of a soul which loves and respects all mortals, of whatever rank they may be—of a soul which suffers when it beholds man bent under the yoke of misfortune, and which is shocked, and filled with indignation when it sees him vilified and degraded.

When the states are assembled, they establish, by means of electors chosen by a plurality of voices, different committees, charged with the preliminary discussion of such objects as are to be laid before them. These committees transmit to their constituents the result of their enquiries, which serve as a guide to the four orders in their decrees.

The nobility sit in their own hotel; the clergy in the vestry of the cathedral; the citizens in a hall of the town-house; and the peasants in another hall of the same buildings.

The internal administration, laws, religion, military establishment, order of knighthood, revenues and expences, occupy the subsequent books. The population of Sweden, as ascertained by a remarkable institution, called the *Commission of Registers*, established in 1741, is as follows:

1751	2,229,651
7	2,307,599
1760	2,383,113
3	2,406,568
6	2,502,363
9	2,571,800
1772	2,584,261

And in 1782, the population was estimated at near three million.

The natural productions, cultivation, industry, internal and foreign commerce, and finances, Mr. Catteau minutely investigates. The public education, manners and customs, languages, arts and sciences, and antiquities, are the subjects of the concluding books. Of the latter we shall give the following extract:

The remains of antiquity to be found in Sweden are not so remarkable as those which appear to the traveller under the serene sky of Asia, and on the classical ground of Italy and Greece; but they are nevertheless interesting, as they serve to elucidate several particulars respecting the history of the world, and of man. The Swedes have always set the highest value on them. In the last century, a multitude of works were published on these monuments of remote ages, and the helps they might afford to those who wish to be acquainted with the ancient history of the kingdom. This was the favourite object of the researches of Messenius, Rudbeck, Verelius, and Peringschold. These learned men possessed as much patriotism as science: according to them, no country was so ancient as Sweden, and no monarchy could be traced back so far. John Scheffer, of Strasburgh, when appointed professor at Upsal, undertook to reverse their whimsical and romantic systems. The wrath of the patriotic antiquaries was on this account inflamed, and the dispute became exceedingly warm. Verelius distinguished himself by his ardour; and the *Upsalia Antiqua* of Scheffer, a work abounding with erudition and found criticism, occasioned between the two professors a controversy which was not terminated but by the intervention of the court. The principal ambition of Verelius was, to prove that Sweden was the country of those Goths who conquered the Romans; as if it had been glorious to have for ancestors ignorant and barbarous men, who carried destruction and desolation along with them; and who defaced the most beautiful monuments of the arts and the sciences.

At the distance of half a mile from

Upsal, is a village named *Gamla Uppsala*, or Old Upsal, which was formerly the principal place where the worshippers of Oden assembled from all parts of the kingdom. A temple was erected here in honour of this deity; but when Christianity was introduced into Sweden, it was stripped of its idols, and of all those ornaments which related to paganism. The edifice itself was, however, preserved, and it still serves as a church to the inhabitants of the village.

A little farther from Upsal may be seen an extensive plain, called *Mora*, where the Swedes formerly elected their kings. In this plain there is a heap of stones called *Monasterar*, or Stones of *Mora*; upon one of which, remarkable by its size, the elected monarch, it is said, mounted as upon a throne, in order to receive the homage of his subjects. On the rest were engraven his name, and the year in which he began to reign. Some of these stones contain the figures of the three crowns which Sweden bears in its arms. Stones ranged in a circular form, placed for the most part on small eminences, and in the centre of which arises one higher than the rest, often attract the attention of the traveller in Sweden. These were tribunals, where justice was formerly administered: the principal judge was seated on the most elevated stone, and the rest took their stations around him.

Runic monuments are found here in great abundance, particularly in Upland and Sudermania. They consist of small eminences, each of which has on its summit a large stone, sometimes plain, and sometimes carved and ornamented with inscriptions. Under these monuments are deposited the ashes and arms of Scandinavian heroes; those formidable warriors, concerning whom the Ilandic romances relate such wonderful prodigies. The inscriptions on them have supplied a vast field for the conjectures of the Swedish literati. From some of them they have attempted to prove, that before the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, the inhabitants of Scandinavia had rendered themselves celebrated by their wars, and their emigrations. This is certainly carrying matters too far: all these inscriptions are in Runic characters, which are peculiar to the ancient people of the North, and were brought into use by Oden. On several Runic monuments may be seen the figure of a crois; this was the symbol of the god *Thor*.

Several monuments of the remotest ages are preserved in one of the vestries of the cathedral of Upsal. The most remarkable of these is an old block of wood, which by some rude chisel has been cut into the form of a human head.

Certa.u

Certain Swedish antiquaries pretend, that this is the image of the god Thor, who was formerly adored, not only by the Scandinavians, but also by the Germans. He presided over thunder, and the phenomena of the air: he was the Jupiter of the Romans.

On the whole, this is a valuable work, and at the present time peculiarly useful.

MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE AND GALLANT EXPLOITS OF THE OLD HIGHLANDER, SERJEANT DONALD MACLEOD, who having returned from Quebec, wounded, with the corps of General Wolfe, was admitted an out-pensioner of Chelsea Hospital in 1759, and is now in the 103d year of his age. Sewed, 2s. 1791.

THESE memoirs, which relate to a character that has, of late, been brought a good deal under the public eye, are interesting not only on this account, but also from the engaging manner in which they are written, and the variety of collateral anecdotes with which the biographer has enriched his narrative of the life and gallant exploits of this extraordinary veteran. We have many **NARRATIVES** and **MEMOIRS**, many of them relating to unworthy though notorious subjects; and drawn up by mechanical writers.

The memoirs under review relate to a character not less respectable than singular, and are composed by a person of taste and education, who at the same time that he looks down on his subject from the eminence of general science, adapts his style, with humour and with ease, though without vulgarity, to his subject.

Donald Macleod, descended from the Macdonalds of State, and the Macleods of Ulinish in the Isle of Skye, was brought up in a manner, compared with which the education of the Spartan youth was luxury: The natural hardiness and severity of the Hebridean nurture being aggravated by that famine which afflicted

Scotland for seven years towards the end of the last century.

After learning to read and write, he was bound apprentice to a floncutter, or mason, in Inverness; from whom, stung with hunger, he made his escape, and wandered, bare-footed, though in the depth of winter, through the Minegg and Athol mountains to the town of Perth, where after serving in it about a year, as a shop or errand boy, he enlisted, though not much turned of twelve, in the Scots Royals, then commanded by the Earl of Orkney.

Our limits will not permit us to follow our heroic serjeant through all the great scenes in which he bore an honourable part, in a chronological order: we shall only touch the principal of them in the briefest manner possible. He served three times in Germany and Flanders; once under the Duke of Marlborough, once under the Duke of Cumberland, and once, viz. in 1761-2, under the Marquis of Granby. He was long a serjeant in the Highland Watch, afterwards formed into the 42d regiment; in which corps he had many and various accidents and adventures, not only in the field of battle, but where they were stationed for enforcing the laws in the Highlands of Scotland and in Ireland. With the 42d regiment he went in 1758 to America, and was from thence drafted into General Frazer's regiment of Highlanders, the 78th, in order to do the duty of a drill serjeant.

After he was admitted an out-pensioner of Chelsea Hospital, he went as a volunteer under General J. Campbell to Germany; and on the breaking out of the American war, tired of a peaceable life, sometimes at Inverness, and sometimes at Chelsea, where he followed different occupations, he went and offered his services as a volunteer, to Sir Henry Clinton. Sir Henry, who had known him in Germany, was charmed with his spirit, and kept him with him on half a guinea a week out of his own pocket, so long as the army lay at Charlestown: but when they were about

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APPENDIX
FOR THE
DECEMBER
WRITTEN

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about to move northward against the the campaign, he very humanely sent enemy, being unwilling to subject him home with a ship fraught with his aged volunteer to the fatigues of dispatches for Government.

P O E T R Y.

VERSES

AFFIXED TO THE BILL OF MORTALITY
FOR THE TOWN OF NORTHAMPTON,
DECEMBER 21, 1787.

WRITTEN BY MR. COWPER, AUTHOR
OF THE TASK, &c.

*Pallida mors aequo pulsat pede pauperum ta-
bernas Regumque turres.* HOR. LIB. I.

Pale Death, with equal foot, strikes wide the
door
Of royal halls, and hovels of the poor.

WHILE thirteen moons saw smoothly
run

The Nen's barge-laden wave ;
All thele, life's rambling journey done,
Have found their home—the grave.
Was man (frail always) made more frail
Than in foregoing years ?
Did famine, or did plague prevail,
That so much death appears ?

No ; these were vigorous as their fires,
Nor plague nor famine came ;
This annual tribute Death requires,
And never waves his claim.

Like crowded forest-trees we stand,
And some are mark'd to fall ;
The are will smite at God's command,
And soon shall smite us all.

Green as the bay-tree, ever green,
With its new foliage on,
The gay, the thoughtleſs have I seen ;
I pafs'd—and they were gone.

Read, ye that run, the awful truth
With which I charge my page ;
A worm is in the bud of youth,
And at the root of age.

No present health can health insure,
For yet an hour to come ;
No med'cine, tho' it often cure,
Can always baulk the tomb.

And oh ! that (humble as my lot,
And scorn'd as is my strain)
These truths, tho' known, too much forgot,
May I not teach in vain,
VOL. VI.

So prays your clerk, with all his heart,
And ere he quits his pen,
Begs you at once to take his part,
And answer all—AMEN !

VERSES

AFFIXED TO THE YEARLY BILL OF
MORTALITY FOR THE TOWN OF
NORTHAMPTON, DECEMBER 21, 1790.

BY MR. COWPER.

Ne commonetem relta sperne. Buchanan.

Despise not my good counſel.

HE who fits from day to day
Where the prifon'd lark is hung,
Heedleſs of his loudest lay,
Hardly knows that he has ſung.

Where the watchman in his round
Nightly lifts his voice on high,
None, accustom'd to the ſound,
Wake the ſooner for his cry.

So, your verſe-man, I, and clerk,
Yearly in my ſong proclaim
Death at hand—yourselves his mark—
And the foe's unerring aim.

Duly at my time I come
Publishing to all aloud—
“ Soon the grave muſt be your home,
“ And your only ſuit a ſhroud.”

But the monitory strain,
Oft repeated in your ears,
Seems to ſound too much in vain,
Wins no notice, wakes no fears.

Can a truth, by all confefs'd
Of ſuſh magnitude and weight,
Grow, by being oft impress'd,
Trivial as a parrot's prate ?

Pleasure's call attention wins,
Hear it often as we may ;
New as ever ſeem our fins,
Tho' committed every day.

Death and Judgment, Heav'n and Hell—
Theſe alone, ſo often heard,
No more move us than the bell
When ſome ſtranger is interr'd.
K Oh !

Oh, then, ere the turf or tomb
Cover us from ev'ry eye,
Spirit of Instruction, come—
Make us learn that we must die!

B E N E V O L E N C E.

ADDRESSED TO MR. J — J —

WRITTEN DEC. 5, 1790.

BY S. C.

LIKE to the orient sun that gilds the morn,
When the dew glistens on the blooming thorn,
Is soft Benevolence, creating bliss,
And antedating future happiness :
At thy approach, joy glads the human heart,
Pain in thy presence seems to lose its smart ;
The faded cheek a flush of health assumes,
The eye, fresh-sparkling, mis'ry's face illumes ;
The palsied hand of want no longer shakes,
When of thy bounty freely it partakes :
Ah ! mute might now have been the muse's tongue,
The bard no more his lyre might e'er have strung,
Had not thy goodness warm'd his torpid frame,
Thy oil of friendship fed life's feeble flame ;
Again with praise of thee his bosom burns,
Like one benighted when the day returns ;
Who, during darkness, petrified with fear,
Thought ev'ry danger lay in ambush near ;
Is quite o'erpower'd with bliss to view a dome,
Sacred to strangers wander'd from their home.

L I N E S

ADDRESSED TO THE SAME.

WRITTEN AUGUST 24, 1790.

DESIGN to accept, blest friend of human kind,
Eflusions flowing from grateful mind ;
Ignoble souls delight to blast a name,
To whisper scandal, secretly defame.
To pale distress you lend th'attentive ear,
O'er human frailty shed the pitying tear :
With dauntless breast the poor you e'er defend,
And for reward upon their smiles depend ;
While many pass in sensual ease their days,
Live undeserving of their country's praise ;
Nor heed the orphan's cry, the widow's moan,
And e'en insult the famish'd wretch's groan ;

Yet what avails it thus to act their part,
When Death, terrific, points the fatal dart ;
When earthly grandeur can no longer charm,

And waken'd conscience gives the dread alarm ?

T O C L O R I N D A.

I.

CLORINDA, can'st thou still suspect,
Still deem thy constant swain untrue ?
Whose heart, tho' hurt by your neglect,
Remains attach'd to none but you ?
No other flame this breast shall own,
In which thou reign'st, and reign'st alone.

II.

For gold let sorid miser pine,
And heroes seek renown in arms :
Renown and wealth I'd straight resign,
If held in balance with thy charms ;
And count the sacrifice but small,
One smile from thee outweighs it all !

III.

No longer then reject my pray'r ;
Return of love is all I claim ;
Ah ! let me prove thee kind as fair,
Nor blush to own a mutual flame.
Blest in thy smiles, beneath thine eye,
There let me live, there let me die.

Homerton.

T. DUTTON.

ANSWER TO A PERSON EXPRESSING SURPRISE AT THE AUTHOR'S NOT SHEDDING TEARS ON READING THE SORROWS OF WERTER.

BY A LADY.

THY self-wrought sorrows, Welter,
Whilst I view,
Why falls not o'er thy page soft pity's dew ?

Is there no tear for thy unhappy lot ;
Is tenderness no more, and love forgot ?
Has fifty winters turn'd my heart to stone ?
And dead the touch of sympathetic woe ?

No—o'er this bosom fifty winters old,
Love—wedded love—still points his shafts of gold ;
Still waves his purple wing, and o'er my urn
His sacred lamp with constant flame shall burn.

—Not so, thy torch of love,—in angry mood,
By Furies lighted—and put out in blood.
From scenes like these, affrighted pity flew,
And Horror froze the tear Compassion drew ;
While from thy gloomy tale I learn to know,
That virtuous tears alone for virtuous sorrows flow.

THEATRICAL

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THEATRICAL INTELLIGENCE.

THE Theatres have begun to bring forward their new pieces. On New Year's Day, a new Opera, from the pen of Mr Cobb, was presented to the public, for the first time, at Drury-Lane, under the title of the *Siege of Belgrade* ;—the characters of which were represented as follows :

The Seraskier,	Mr. Kelly.
Colonel Cohenberg,	Mr. Palmer.
Krohnfeldt,	Mr. R. Palmer.
Imael,	Mr. Fox.
Yuseph,	Mr. Suet.
Leopold,	Mr. Bannister, jun.
Peter,	Mr. Dignum.
Anselm,	Mr. Cook.
Michael,	Mr. Hollingsworth.
Soldier,	Mr. Dubois.
Catharine,	Mrs. Crouch.
Fatima,	Mrs. Hagley.
Lilla,	Signora Storace.
Ghita,	Mrs. Bland.

The scene of the Opera is fully explained by the title, it lying off the town of Belgrade ; the Turkish and Austrian camps lying on the opposite sides of the river Danube, with the villages adjacent. It consists, according to Puff's system for forming a tragedy, of a principal and an under plot.—The former is as follows :

The Seraskier, who is commander in chief of the Turkish troops defending Belgrade, has, by a scouting party, got into his power the wife of Colonel Cohenberg, an officer of the Austrian army then laying siege to the town ; and being much enamoured of her, though ignorant of her quality, he places her in his seraglio, to which an old convent is converted, being situated near the Turkish encampment, where he solicits her love, though in vain.

Cohenberg, disengaged at the loss of his wife, to whom he had been but a short time contracted, resolves on a hazardous attempt to gain her freedom, for which purpose he boldly enters the Turkish camp, and is brought into the presence of the Seraskier, to whom he pretends to have brought letters, purporting that Cohenberg was disaffected to the Austrians, and would on certain conditions, desert their cause. By this artifice he gains a sight of his beloved Catharine, discovers himself to her, unobserved by the Seraskier ; but, attempting to deliver a letter to her privately, one of the attendants seizes and delivers it to the Seraskier, by which Cohenberg is betrayed. He is immediately seized, chained, and thrown into a dungeon, and

Catharine is again secured ; she however escapes, and is rescued by Cohenberg.

A variety of comic incidents occurring in the village, near the spot, form the under plot.

This Opera, although like all Mr. Cobb's pieces, it has no claim to any thing above mediocrity, has yet strong claims upon the town ; the music is Storace's, and may be called excellent. The airs are good ; and the chorusses well managed. The actors in general did great justice to their characters.

At Covent-Garden, Mrs. Esten has played the character of Lady Townley, in the Provoked Husband, with success ; she gave an easy exhibition of the dissipated woman of fashion. Holman performed Lord Townley with more correctness and less action than usual attends his performances. Munden has performed Darby in the Poor Soldier, and was encored in most of the songs.

On Monday, Dec. 20, the new pantomime of the *Picture of Paris* was produced, after the tragedy of Douglas. In this play Mr. Fennel played Douglas, and Mr. Harley Glenalvon ; both had a deserved share of applause.

The pantomime is intended to be a representation of the manners of the Parisians, at the time of the federation. It is consequently interpersed with dialogue, and had the Manager endeavoured to inculcate, by this means, those noble sentiments which now actuate the French, we should have applauded his design ; but instead of this, we find one of the noblest scenes which ever did honour to the human race, disgraced by pantomime nonsense and mummery. The scenery of this piece constitutes its chief merit, and does great credit to the artists ; but we cannot help expressing our disapprobation, that the pleasing after-pieces are to be laid aside, to make room for such trumpery as pantomime, merely that the manager may have an opportunity of squeezing whole price out of such part of the audience as cannot attend before the end of the third act. Mr. Merry, who wrote the songs, we think might have employed his muse to better purpose. For fear the public should not pay due attention to this curious performance, the play bills are filled much in the pompous style of those for a performance in a country barn.

Although we condemn the manager for bringing forward those silly performances, yet we must highly applaud him for reviving Jones's *Earl of Essex*, a tragedy, which, notwithstanding its merit, has lain on the shelf these twenty years. In the Queen and

and Rutland, Mrs. Pope and Mrs. Elsten Pained additional fame. Willson has "laid Falstaff in Shakespeare's Henry IV. and seems a close copy of Shuter in that character.

A tragedy, called *The Widow of Malabar*, which has been repeatedly performed at Mrs. Cressiguy's private theatre, was presented to the public, and very favourably received. The principal characters are

Raymond,	Mr. Farren.
Officer,	Mr. Ewall.
First Bramin,	Mr. Harley.
Second Bramin,	Mr. Holman.
Indamora,	Miss Brunton.
Fatima,	Mrs. Rock.

The fablg of this piece is extremely simple. It is founded on the well-known, though singular custom, peculiar to some parts of India, of women devoting themselves to the flames in honour of their de-

ceased husbands. To this ordeal Indamora, the Malabar widow, is condemned by the law of the country; but entertaining a passion for Raymond, a British Officer, she very naturally feels the strongest reluctance to the sacrifice. After a variety of conflicts and contending passions, which excite a considerable degree of interest, the widow, at the moment she ascends the funeral pile, is happily rescued by a band of British soldiers, and united to Raymond.

The Widow of Malabar, we understand, is the production of Miss Starke, whose father was formerly the governor of the country where the scene of the tragedy lies; of course the costume of the piece is preferred with great truth. The procession is extremely magnificent, and affords a very striking picture of Oriental manners. The characters were well sustained, and the play was given out for a second representation with universal approbation.

MONTHLY REGISTER.

PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS.

IN the House of Commons, Friday, Dec. 10, an account was presented from the Customs of Scotland, stating the number of ships employed in the southern Whale-fishery; also an account from the Commissioners of the northern lights, which were ordered to be laid on the table.

Two petitions complaining of undue elections were presented as follows :

Seaford—Sir Godfrey Webster; to be taken into consideration on the day appointed for the discussion of the other petitions presented, complaining of the return for the same borrough.

Shaftsbury—Winthrop Norton, Esq. on Tuesday, the 24th of May.

The bill for effecting the land tax was brought in by Mr. Rose, and read a first and second time.

Mr. Wilberforce said it was unnecessary for him to preface the motion which he had to make by any observations, which could only tend to consume the time of the House; it was at present his only intention, for the purpose of proceeding further on the examination of witnesses, to move,

That the House do on Thursday next resolve itself into a committee, to consider further of the African slave trade. After a few words from Colonel Tarleton, the motion was agreed to.

The order of the day being read, that the House should resolve itself into a committee,

Mr. Steele moved, that in the account

of the charges of the late armaments, and the expences incurred in the ordinance, that the money expended for provisions for the troops in the West Indies be submitted to the committee.

Mr. Pitt stated, that the amount of the whole was 2,456,000l. and that there remained to be voted to defray the above expences 1,180,000l. In the article of stores he said there would be a diminution when the overplus was disposed of.

He next moved that the sum of 1,566,000l. be granted to his Majesty towards defraying the expences incurred for and by equipping the army.

General Burgoyne called the attention of the House to the expences which were incurred by the raising of the independent companies. These new levies, according to the proper acceptation of the words, these new regiments, he reprobated as a lavish and improvident measure. The raising independent companies, which he considered as a new corps, marked the want of economy, and was injudicious in the extreme.

The General concluded by lamenting the indecency with which military gentlemen had been treated, and predicted that it must ever be the case as long as that imperfection in the constitution remained, which did not oblige us to have a responsible military Minister.

Mr. Pitt said, that although he did not mean to enter into the discussion of a question that at present he thought rather

pre-

premature, till he would make an observation or two from what had fallen from the Honourable General. He expected that the General would have made some motion purporting, that the Independent Companies, which no acceptance of the word can justify to be pronounced New Corps, were unnecessary, and that the arrangements made were lavish and superfluous.

If this was the case, he hoped that the House would have exercised its judgment, and that the honourable Member would with his usual zeal and activity have spoken at large to the question. As this was not the case, he hoped the House would suspend its judgment, until the question, accompanied with the particulars attending the business, was properly offered to their consideration.

The Secretary at War defended the conduct of Ministers on this occasion, and maintained, that as it was their duty to get the men at all events by the readiest method that could be expedient, that the whole of the business had been conducted as cheaply as possible.

Colonel Phipps, Mr. Francis, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, The Secretary at War, and Col. Tarleton spoke, and

The several resolutions were then put and carried.

In the House of Lords, Monday, Dec. 13, Thomas Morton, Esq. Secretary to the company, appeared at the bar, and presented a list of the Hon. the East India Company's Establishment, both civil and military, in the East Indies.

Mr. Steele presented the accounts from the Treasury.

Lord Kinnoul rose before the order of the day was read, and stated, that previous to the entering into the discussion of the Convention, it was their Lordships right to have all the memorials, respecting the convention with Spain, from the 10th of October to the 28th of February, laid on the table; he said it was utterly impossible for their Lordships to form any just idea of the convention from the papers that were already before them; he would, therefore, move that an humble address be presented to his Majesty, praying that he would be graciously pleased to give directions that all the memorials relating to the convention, from the 10th of October to the 28th of February, be laid on the table for their Lordships inspection.

The Duke of Montrose conceived that the papers already on the table conveyed in the fullest manner all the information necessary to enable their Lordships to enter into the immediate discussion of the merits of the convention, which, in his opinion, on being properly discussed, would reflect additional credit on the conduct of his Majesty's Ministers. display the many

advantages that this country would reap from its being entered into, and throw more lustre and reputation on the already established character of the British nation.

Lord Kinnoul's motion was then put, and negatived without a division.

The Lord Chancellor then moved, that the order of the day be now read.

The Duke of Montrose moved an humble address to his Majesty, which was couched in terms that warmly acknowledged his Majesty's very zealous and paternal care of the welfare of his subjects in bringing about a negotiation between this country and Spain. Commenting on the great advantages that this nation would derive from it, and passing many eulogiums on the very prudent conduct of the Ministry, he said, respecting the convention, that House, he was well assured, could have but one opinion. The papers already on the table expounded all that was necessary to be explained. Nothing now remained for their Lordships, but to vote an humble address to his Majesty. The Duke then concluded by moving the address.

Lord Glasgow rose to second the motion.

Lord Coventry heartily concurred with the Noble Lords who made and seconded the motion.

Lord Rawdon said, that no Noble Lord was more ready to vote an address to his Majesty than he was; but on the present occasion the manner in which that address was intended to be voted, and the language it was couched in, prevented him from giving it his affirmative. He could not conceive that the papers on the table answered these just demands; if Ministry were confident that they had acted with consistency and prudence in the late negotiation, what motive could they have for refusing other papers which would only tend to confirm the opinion of the propriety of their conduct in the breasts of some who were at present doubtful of it? He was apprehensive there was some other motive for this secrecy; nobody was more anxious than he was to concur in voting that part of the address which congratulated his Majesty on his paternal zeal concerning the welfare of his subjects, but he did not find himself bound, from the information the papers on the table conveyed, to vote that part which passed encomiums on the Ministry, and declared the many advantages that would accrue to this country from the convention.

Lord Sidney gave it as his opinion, that the papers then lying on the table afforded all the information requisite to judge of the convention.

The Marquis of Lansdowne began a very able and pointed speech, by saying that no man was more willing than himself

place

place a proper confidence in the administration of the country; but when he saw Ministers withholding not only the papers necessary to enable Parliament to form some opinion of their measures, but even declining to give the smallest explanation of the means by which they had attained their object, he never could give his countenance to a precedent so unconstitutional and so dangerous. While a negotiation with any foreign power is going forward, the executive government were entitled to a great degree of the confidence of the Legislative Power; but if ever a day should arrive when Parliament had no right to investigate the conduct of the King's Ministers, then there was an end of the constitution of this country. The Noble Marquis said, he scrupled not to assert that Ministers had totally abandoned the principle on which they originally set out. In every great question for the three last years, which could agitate the political councils of Europe, they had uniformly adopted a line of policy, which, in his opinion, militated against the true interest of this country.

The only paper which he could argue on, was the memorial of Captain Mearns, which he understood had been presented to the House of Commons. Certain young gentlemen adventurers agreed to fit out a vessel; and being joined by some men of letters, for he would not presume to call them *smugglers*, they determined to extend the British dominions, to establish a new colony, and to invest themselves with the rights of sovereignty. After indulging himself in ridiculing the proceedings of Captain Mearns, and the other adventurers in that trade, the Noble Marquis went into an historical detail of the conduct which the Ministers of this country had pursued with regard to Spanish America, from the time of Queen Elizabeth downwards; he particularly dwelt on the opinion of an ancestor of a Noble Duke high in office (Leeds), Sir William Godolphin, that it ought to be the policy of this country to avoid interfering with Spain in the South Seas. With regard to the right of fishing in the South Seas, there could be no dispute. Every writer on the civil law, from *Grotius* downwards, had clearly defined that right to be as common as the general rights of navigation.—It was somewhat singular, he observed, that by some means or other his Majesty's present Ministers had very ingeniously contrived to give offence to almost every nation in Europe: they had abandoned the King of Sweden, and lost the friendship of Denmark. They had endeavoured to bring the grey hairs of Russia with sorrow to the grave, while they had wounded the pride of Spain, and insulted Portugal. In short, there was scarcely a single European power whose

enmity we had not excited, except perhaps, the King of Prussia. He had heard much of the advantages to be derived from a commercial treaty with Spain, but he was afraid the high tone which we had held to that high spirited nation would be the means of rendering that measure more impracticable than ever. In disapproving of the conduct of the King's Ministers, he owned he was anxious to shew to Spain that she had not lost the good will of this country.

Lord Grenville endeavoured to combat the arguments of the Noble Marquis. In his opinion there were materials sufficient on the table to enable their Lordships either to condemn or to give their vote of approbation to the measures which his Majesty's Ministers had thought necessary for accommodating the dispute with Spain. He thought it highly dangerous for Parliament to interfere with the King's prerogative so far as it went to the formation of foreign treaties. The moment that the legislative power trespassed on the executive government, from that moment the ruin of our constitution might be foretold. The Noble Secretary then enumerated the various steps which had led to the convention, which he defended in detail. He contended that the Southern Whale-fishery, so far from being unimportant, had been strongly recommended by Captain Cook, and by Captain King, as an object of the first magnitude to Great Britain.—Having concluded his defence, the Noble Lord said he should give his concurrence to the original motion.

Lord Viscount Stormont mentioned, that we had gained nothing by the convention which we were not before entitled to.

The motion on the previous question was then put, and the House having divided.

For the previous question,

Contents 30

Non Contents 75 Majority 43.

In the House of Commons, on the same day,

Mr. Adam presented a petition from Captain M'Brude, complaining of an undue return for the borough of Plymouth; but as the petitioner was ordered upon his Majesty's foreign service, and of course out of the kingdom, he is thereby prevented from entering into his recognizances. Mr. Adam therefore requested that the House would extend the time allowed for making good the recognizances in such case. The petition was received, and appointed to be considered at the same time as the other petition from the said place.

Mr. Gilbert brought up the report of the committee of supply, voted on Friday last, towards defraying the expences of the late armament.

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Mr. Grey said, no man had a greater veneration for the distinction which the formation of the constitution of this country observed, between the executive and legislative powers, particularly in what related to making peace or war, which was the undoubted prerogative of the former, and a prerogative that he would always support, at the same time that he would, in the most strenuous manner, assert the privileges of that House, to inquire into, and be fully satisfied upon, the exercise of that prerogative. He considered it to be a duty incumbent upon every member of that House, not to vote away the public money till they were previously convinced of the necessity for doing so, and till they were completely satisfied that such sums as were voted, were properly applied, that the honour of the nation required the expenditure, and that they had not given a shilling more than they had good grounds for. A motion for papers was absolutely necessary, because he, and many more in that House, could not possibly say that they received from those on the table such information as enabled them to judge of the propriety or impropriety of the Convention before them. For the motion which he meant to bring forward, upon consulting the annals of this country, there were many precedents. The papers on the table contained nothing that could justify any other gentleman in stating that the Convention was a good one because he could not tell, from any information that he possessed, whether a better one might not have been made at less expence to the country, and in a much shorter period than the protracted negotiation which had been carried on. He had no scruple to say, that peace was a most desirable blessing to this country; but then it was necessary to know if this peace could not have been got on better terms, and what were the causes of its interruption; this was absolutely necessary, before they could conscientiously give a vote that was so much and so heavily to increase the burdens of the people of England. He said, by his language in the last Parliament, had Parliament met on the day on which it regularly should, the Right Honourable Gentleman must, in terms of his former express declaration, have explained his measures before he had asked another vote of credit. When he had the honour to move for papers last session, it had been argued, that pending a negotiation there might be an impropriety in granting what he requested, and a necessity for State secrecy; but certainly now that could not be offered in opposition to his motion, as the negotiation that was then pending was now concluded. He insisted that it was the indispensible duty of that House, to keep vigilant and jealous look out upon the conduct of ministers in all matters that were so materially connected with the interests and prosperity of the country. He next adverted to the

confidence that had been reposed in the Minister, during the last Parliament, and thought it ought to occasion, on his part, a liberal and candid explanation, as far as was in his power, of every transaction that had taken place during the negotiation. Mr. Grey then moved, that from the Journals might be read the proceedings of the House on the Falkland's Island business in 1771; which being done, he concluded by moving, that "An Address be presented to his Majesty, requesting that he would be graciously pleased to order, that all papers relating to the claims of the Court of Spain on the South West coast of America, and all papers relating to our trade and fishery in those parts, be laid before this House, with the dates of the same," which was seconded by Mr. Pelham.

Mr. Wilberforce opposed the motion, and was followed by Mr. Wyndham, who, in a very able manner, supported it.

Sir William Young denied the necessity of producing the papers which had been moved for; and Mr. Jekyll strongly contended that without them it was impossible to form a decided opinion upon the merits of the Convention.

Several other Gentlemen spoke for and against the motion, many of whom displayed great abilities and information. After which

Mr. Fox rose, and, in a speech of considerable length, supported the motion. And

Mr. Pitt closed the debate by a very eloquent speech against it.

On a division there appeared:

For the motion	-	134
Against it	-	258

Majority - 124

In the House of Commons, on Tuesday, December 14th, the House was on the Corn Laws, and on the Land Tax bill.

Mr. Rose moved for leave to bring up a new clause for making good from the aggregate fund the exemptions made by Parliament on certain pensions and salaries, which was received.

This being the last day for receiving Election Petitions, the following were presented:

A petition complaining of an undue Election for the Borough of Downton. Ordered to be referred to the Committee on the former petition.

A petition complaining of an undue Election for the county of Radnor. Ordered to be taken into consideration on the 9th of June.

A petition against the return made for the town of Boston. Ordered to be taken into consideration on the 14th of June.

Before the order of the day was read, Mr. Grey rose and laid, that notwithstanding the discouragement he had received in the question which he had yesterday moved,

moved, still he was not to be deterred from persevering in doing what he conceived to be his duty. The papers which he then intended to move for were such, as he presumed, could not be withheld on any ground. They related solely to the boundaries of the Spanish Coast, and without which it was impossible for the House to understand that part of the convention to which they referred. He then moved, That there be laid before this House such information as his Majesty's Ministers had obtained respecting the boundaries of the North West Coast of America, as occupied by Spain. On the question being put, the motion was rejected without a division.

Mr. Grey then moved a similar question relative to the boundaries of the East and West Coasts of America, and Islands adjacent, so far as the same are occupied by Spain, which was also rejected.

The order of the day being read for taking into consideration the articles of convention with the Court of Spain,

Mr. Duncombe rose to express the peculiar satisfaction he felt in congratulating the House and the Country on the present occasion.—Peace was at all times desirable, and it was the more to be prized, that it had been purchased without the smallest sacrifice of the national honour. The advantages which this country might derive from the convention which had lately been concluded with the Court of Spain, were to be measured only by the activity and enterprising spirit of our Merchants, by their great capitals, by the unceasing industry and ingenuity of our manufacturers.—Had a war unfortunately taken place, the expense must necessarily have been such as even to have shaken perhaps the credit of the nation. Happily the storm was now dispelled; the political horizon was without a cloud; and there was every appearance of the permanent continuation of that bright prospect. Spain was a high spirited, a gallant, and a generous nation! they had congenial feelings to our own; he was persuaded they were disposed to continue in friendship with us; and they would in future pursue a different system of policy in their intercourse with this country. Mr. Duncombe concluded his speech by a motion for an address to his Majesty similar to that moved in the House of Lords.

Mr. Alderman Watton seconded the motion.

Mr. Pulteney admitted that the general voice of the country was in favour of peace, but surely that was no reason why the House should not have the information requisite to enable them to judge of the means by which that peace was obtained. With regard to the continuance of that harmony with the Court of Spain, which was

so desirable, it was a delicate subject: but if it were true that the Court of Spain had unwillingly agreed to certain stipulations of the treaty, it could not be the foundation of future amity. Indeed, in his opinion, it was highly impolitic to ask for any thing more than a reparation of the violence which had been committed at Nootka, but which he believed was never intended as an insult to the British flag. That reparation was made in the declaration of the Court of Spain, and with that Ministers ought to have been satisfied, if they had been anxious to cultivate the friendship of that high spirited and generous nation. With regard to the value of what we had obtained by the convention in a commercial view, it was, in his opinion, very inadequate to the expense.

Mr. Montagu defended the convention, as highly advantageous to the commercial rights of this country.

Alderman Curtis, in a maiden speech, congratulated the House and the commercial interests of the country upon the security and prospect of permanent peace, entered into some account of the Southern Whale Fishery, and was led by what had fallen from the gentleman over the way (Mr. Pulteney) to a comparison of that with the Northern Fishery, the former of which he was much inclined to favour. He stated that the Southern Whale Fishery had been increased much within these five years; and he had the best reason to know that it had—he was a fisherman himself, and experienced the profits and advantages arising from that trade.

Sir William Young began a long speech by recurring to every thing that had been entered into between the two Courts since the time of Charles the Second; from which he stated the claims of Spain, that they had now been obliged to relinquish, as being recognized in all these treaties; and of course their receding from them now was, in his opinion, the greater acquisition to this country; which was entirely gained by the wisdom and prudence of the conduct of Administration, in accomplishing the convention now before them.

Mr. Grey rose. He had not the least intention to have risen till he had either heard some better argument than was yet stated by gentlemen to found their approbation of the present convention upon, or some explanation given that could enable him to understand it better than he now could do, from the circumstance of every information being withheld that could tend to illustrate it in any degree: However, he felt himself called upon by the Hon. Gentleman who had just sat down; and if he was to believe what the Hon. Gentleman had advanced to be true, it only afforded him a stronger and more positive conviction of the necessity that there

was to have before the House that information which he had unsuccessfully called for, and which he still saw greater reason for producing, before the papers now on the table could possibly undergo a fair and honest discussion.

Several other Members spoke, when the House divided, on a motion for adjournment, when the numbers were,

For Adjournment	123
Against it	247
Majority	124

The House then being resumed, the motion was made for the previous Address to his Majesty on the Convention; when

Mr. Fox rose, and in a few words stated, that he would venture to risk all the credit he held as a politician, if the public did not in a short time condemn the terms of the Convention, when it became better known, and the fruits of it were tried.

Mr. Pitt replied in a few words, and at two o'clock the House adjourned, the Address having been carried without a division.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

Constantinople, Oct. 22.

THE Grand Sultan has strongly manifested his resentment at the peace concluded by Sweden, and ordered the guard of Janissaries to be immediately withdrawn from attending Mr. Heidenstein, the Swedish Ambassador, as also the allowance he had from the Porte, which was very considerable. He has since in vain solicited an audience of the Ministry, who sent him for answer, that the Porte would have no further connection with Sweden.

Bafia, Nov. 10. General Paoli is re-established in his former charge of General of the National troops, and has been appointed President of the General Assembly of the Island of Corsica. At the opening of the Assembly that General made a speech, in which he drew a faithful picture of the misfortunes of his country, and congratulated the Corsican nation upon its accession to the glory of the French nation; he afterwards expressed his gratitude to the English nation and their benevolent King, for having generously succoured him in his misfortunes.

Tangiers, Nov. 11. A Genoese ship from Cadiz on the 3d instant, entered this port with dispatches from the King of Spain for the Emperor of Morocco. We since learn, that his Moorish Majesty has liberated the two agents of the Spanish nation from Mogador and Larrache, and the Capuchin Missionaries; he has also given orders to raise the siege of Ceuta; and it is said that Sid Mahomet Ben Ottomann, the Secretary, is preparing to depart for Madrid in quality of Ambassador; a circumstance which augurs very favourably for a peace.

Madrid, Nov. 19. The following are the chief circumstances relative to the misfortune which has happened to the town of Oran:

On the night between the 8th and 9th of November, within a very short space

of time, twenty reiterated shocks of an earthquake were felt, which shook the whole town, and buried a great number of the inhabitants, and part of the garrison, under the ruins. All the magazines were destroyed; and, owing to the amazing multitude that were wounded, it was impossible to give them all the necessary assistance. The victims who perished were the Commandant General of the place *ad interim*, Brigadier Don Basile Gascon, Colonel of the regiment of Asturias; 10 officers, and 150 other individuals of the same regiment; five officers and eight soldiers of that of Lisbon; three officers and 26 soldiers of that of Navarre; two officers and 20 soldiers of the fixed regiment, &c. The regiments of Navarre and Asturias had together 184 wounded. We cannot determine the number of other persons who lost their lives on this melancholy occasion, but on a moderate calculation suppose them to exceed 2000.

Warsaw, Nov. 20. On the 16th came on the election of new Nuncios; in the last instructions given to them they were, it seems, to choose the Elector of Saxony as a successor to the throne of Poland; but as that Prince does not appear disposed to accept the succession, they now talk of disposing of it in favour of the reigning Duke of Brunswick, who will of course be supported by the Courts of London and Berlin.

Warsaw, Nov. 28. The King of Prussia some time ago requested of the States a passage through the territory of the Republic for his troops, if circumstances should render that measure necessary. The States, it is said, have informed the Courts of Vienna and Peterburgh of this demand, in order to learn their sentiments on the occasion; but they add, the answers of those Courts are so vague that the States are still uncertain which way to act.

Vienna, Dec. 8. The Emperor has re-established the States of the Milanese in

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the possession of all the rights and privileges of which they had been divested during the late reign.

Louvain, Dec. 12. The Imperial troops, to the number of 4000 cavalry, and 8000 infantry, with a train of 50 cannons, and about 1500 baggage and ammunition wagons, arrived here the 2d instant, since which we have been perfectly quiet, and the same tranquillity reigns in all the other cities which the Austrian army has taken possession of. The only encounter, during this revolution, in which there was any bloodshed (that at Namur excepted, in which a few Imperial soldiers were killed and wounded by the discharge of some artillery from that place), happened on the 1st inst. at night, about a league and a half distance from this place, where 700 volunteers, most of them young peasants and citizens, rashly attacked the Austrian column which was marching to Louvain, and unfortunately killed five of them; the consequence was, that the Austrians fell upon these fool-hardy youths, few of whom escaped, as those who fled were mostly drowned in passing the river.

Stockholm, Dec. 14. The Court of Sweden, now entirely under the influence of that of Russia, has taken some measures, which make it probable, that the Russian frontiers are to be defended by a Swedish army against any attacks that may be made upon them by the King of Prussia.

Vienna, Dec. 18. On the 16th inst. in the morning, a courier sent by Prince Potemkin on the 4th, arrived at the Russian Ambassador's, with an account of the progress made by the Russian squadron; and of which the following account is given in the Gazette, brought a relation of the advances made by the Russian light squadron at the mouth of the Danube.

The 24th of November a division of this squadron attempted an enterprise against Iaizi, and, notwithstanding the rapidity of the torrent, approached the fortres.

The enemy began a smart cannonade, both from the land batteries, and from their flotilla, composed of thirty vessels called Lansons, one Saique, and Kirlangis, of the late Hassan Bacha.

The enemies fire commenced at seven o'clock, and was well sustained; the Russians, nevertheless, advanced in good order, and did not return it till they were within a small distance of the Turkish guns. This procedure decided the business; the battle was ended by two in the afternoon, and the Russians gained a complete victory.

There are twenty-one of the enemies Lansons burnt or sunk, and the remainder of their flotilla fell into the hands of the victors.

The Turks fled after abandoning their effects, their batteries on the banks, and

even the town; which the Russians immediately took possession of.

As the town of Iaizi was the magazine of the whole Turkish army, a judgment may be formed of the quantity of provisions and ammunition of every species, which the conquerors found there.

Besides the artillery of the vessels, they took 33 pieces of brass ordnance, and a mortar of 480 pounds, which was on the rampart; and eight flags, among which was that of the Scrasquier.

The Russians have not sustained the loss of a man.

The victory is of great consequence to the Russians, as it renders them masters of all that part of the river called the Lower Danube, and will permit them to approach Varna.

On the departure of the courier, Ismail was still in the hands of the Turks; but all communication is cut off between that fortres and the army of the Grand Vizier, and no succour can be expected from the left side of the Danube.

Ratibon, Dec. 20. Two different memorials have been presented to the Diet, the one from the Bishop of Strasburgh, and the other from the Prince Bishop of Spiers, containing heavy complaints relative to the execution of the decrees of the French National Assembly.

Paris, Dec. 24. Since Saturday last there has been a more than usual expectation of some domestic commotion, and the guards on duty at the Louvre have constantly carried their musquets loaded.

Great precautions are used to prevent the flight of his Majesty, or any part of the royal family, whose persons are considered as hostages for the peace of the metropolis.

On Sunday the following note was found by the Queen, under her cover at the dining table:—"Upon the first shot fired by your brother at the Patriots, your head shall be fired at him."

An Ambassador from Leopold is every day expected to demand the Queen.

St. Maloe's, Dec. 25. On Thursday morning last, about four o'clock, we had a most terrible hurricane, attended with the most tremendous thunder and lightning ever known, which lasted upwards of an hour and an half. To recapitulate all the damages is next to impossible. At Dinant, Dole, and Saint Francis, houses have been thrown down, and some persons killed by their falling. We were greatly apprehensive here for the magazines, which are full of ammunition, &c. Wet sails were drawn out and thrown over them. One remarkable matter is, a weather cock at Dole was carried through the air near two furlongs, and lodged in a field, where it was found yesterday morning. The present winter has been most remarkable

markable for this sort of storms, though none so violent.

C O U N T R Y N E W S.

Manchester, Dec. 18. The incessant rain for some days past, has caused our river to overflow its banks, and the low lands, in several places, are covered with water. On Tuesday night we had a terrible storm of wind, rain, and hail. It blew such hurricanes as greatly to alarm many persons, and continued during the whole night and part of the next day. A little after six o'clock in the morning, a large factory and house in Newtown, Ashley-lane, lately built by Mr. Brennam, of Strangeways, was entirely levelled with the ground, except part of the wall of the house.

Liverpool, Dec. 20. During the high gales of wind the week before last, several new-built houses in this town and its vicinity, were blown down, many buildings unroofed, and chimnies demolished, but we have not yet heard of any person being hurt; and in a high gale of wind, attended with lightning, on Thursday night last, the top of a mill at Bevington-bush, with its machinery, was by its violence carried off and thrown into the adjoining land.

Canterbury, Dec. 24. Yesterday morning, between five and six o'clock, a violent storm of thunder and lightning passed over this city, accompanied with a very strong gale of wind, and exceedingly heavy rain. The lightning, which was uncommonly vivid, equal to what it usually is in the hot months of summer, set fire to a seed-mill at Chatham-Hatch, belonging to Mr. Hambrook; but the servants being up, and going into the mill soon after the stroke, very fortunately extinguished the fire, which preserved the same and the adjoining storehouses, in which were fifty tons of clover and other seeds.

Coventry, Dec. 27. During the violent storm on Thursday morning last, the battlements at the west end of St. Michael's church, in this city, received considerable damage.

Lewes, Dec. 27. The storm and hurricane which happened on Thursday morning last, and did so much damage at most other places, were felt with equal severity in this neighbourhood. The thunder was uncommonly loud and awful, and the lightning exceedingly vivid and alarming. At Horsham the lightning stripped one side of the church spire of all its shingling, and melted the lead at top. And the person who surveyed it afterwards, reported that it had been on fire, but supposed the rain had extinguished it.

Basingstoke, Dec. 28. Early in the morn-

ing of Thursday last, we experienced a storm of thunder, lightning, and hail, accompanied at frequent intervals with the most violent gusts of wind, which had not a parallel in the memory of the oldest inhabitants. About four o'clock the tempest seemed to have been at its utmost height; and its effects at Hackwood Park and the Spring Woods, belonging to his Grace the Duke of Bolton, are more than ordinarily conspicuous. Near one hundred of the largest elm, ash, and other trees, are either blown up by the roots, fevered in their trunks, or broke down. The lightning has left a curious, though awful, mark of its violence in one tree particularly, having cleft from the fork to the ground (being about twenty-feet) a large ash, leaving one half of the trunk, with the entire top, and carrying the other half of the trunk to a considerable distance. Great numbers of rooks resorting thither to roost, were found dead and mangled in the morning; the leads of the mansion in some places rolled up like a scroll; and a piece of board, which made a part of the materials in an adjoining pheasantry, was driven, in an ascending oblique direction, a distance of at least forty yards; entering the chamber window of one of the servants, it made its way through the curtain, and lodged between the ticking and clothes of the bed. The tornado (for such it was) had its direction South-West by West, and its apparent width scarcely exceeded 100 yards.

Norwich, Jan. 1. An offence the most heinous we have heard of in this part of the country was committed near this city on Tuesday night, by a female incendiary, of which these are the particulars:

Between the hours of ten and eleven on the above night, Mr. Thomas Burges, an eminent farmer, at Banbury, was alarmed by the cry of "Fire!" On going to his door he had the melancholy prospect of his hay-ricks, his stables, cow-house, pig-stye, cart, shed, and barns all on fire at the same time, and the flames raging with such rapidity, as excluded all hopes of saving any part of his property. The hay and buildings were all consumed, and with them a number of calves, pigs, and poultry, a cart, waggon, and five very capital horses, valued at thirty pounds each.

Colchester, Jan. 3. The trial of the Miss Milbanks, with their foster-mother, Miss Love, is this instant, after near ten hours investigation, terminated.

They are all found guilty, to the manifest concern of the court, the jury, and every auditor.

Sentence on Miss Love, two months imprisonment; Miss Harriet Milbank,

and Miss Betsey Milbank, each 14 days imprisonment.

The popular cry, which at one time was (from motives of tenderness certainly) rather bent against the prosecutor, is now turned greatly in his favour, from a speech which he addressed to the court in favour of the two young ladies, whose fate is universally lamented.

Portsmouth, Jan. 7. Last night and this morning, Mr. Barney, coroner for this district, and his jury, sat on the body of John White, a seaman belonging to the Hebe frigate, who was found murdered at the Back of the Point; and, after a very strict and attentive investigation of the business, brought in a verdict of *Wilful murder by some person or persons unknown.*

This is the second murder that has been committed at the Back of the Point in the course of a few weeks, and perhaps several others, so artfully managed as never to come to light. Some time since, the magistrates, through the town clerk, applied to the lieutenant-governor to have sentinels placed in the above abominable sink of infamy, as on similar occasions; but this very proper and necessary requisition has not been complied with.

There can be no doubt remaining but the boatwain's mate of the Royal William, and White, captain of the fore-top of the Hebe, both excellent seamen, were murdered in one of the brothels at the Back of the Point, and from thence dragged to the embrasures on the beach; and there is every reason to dread, that others have been sunk with ballast in the sea.

Northampton, Jan. 8. A boy was brought to the county hospital on Wednesday last, having existed six days and nights without any kind of nourishment. His master, who is a shoemaker at Rotherthorpe, near this town, ordered him to go on the evening of Wednesday the 29th ult. to a neighbouring town with a wallet; and the boy not liking his business, took that opportunity of eloping, and was not heard of till Tuesday night last, when he was discovered by his groans in a calf-pen in Kinsbury-field, where he had remained from the time of his departure from home, and must very soon have perished for want, had he not been thus fortunately discovered; though it seems the wallet contained a pork-pie, which the boy knew nothing of. A mortification has taken place in his feet, in consequence of being so long exposed to the cold.

DOMESTIC OCCURRENCES.
A letter from North Wales, of the 23d ult. says, we had a very alarming and

terrible thunder storm. It began about three o'clock in the morning, and continued till six. It is astonishing what immense quantities of trees of all kinds are destroyed; in one wood it rooted up fifteen ashes, some elms, and three large oaks. By the fall of one of them, a cottage close by was entirely demolished, in which there lived a farmer and his wife and family, consisting of four boys; the tree fell on the roof, pierced through that in a moment, knocked down several of the beams, and killed the man, woman, and one of the children. God knows how the other three escaped, as all the four boys slept in one bed. The eldest of the surviving children is no more than eight years old.

A general quarterly court of the proprietors of Bank stock was held, when the governor laid before the court an account of his conferences with the minister on the subject of taking the unclaimed dividends as a part of the ways and means, and read the objections which he had stated on the subject. He was followed by the deputy-governor, Mr. Befanquet, who pointed out the impropriety and injustice of taking this sum of money out of the hands of the Bank, while they were responsible for every dividend which may be claimed of them, and which may be recovered by an action, in case of their refusal to pay them. The minister had considered them as agents merely; but he was of opinion that they were not agents only, but trustees also, and that, as such, it was their duty to oppose the proposed measure. Mr. Thornton doubted the expediency of laying this subject before the proprietors who were interested in the capital stock alone. Mr. Alderman Watson, Mr. Harman, and several other gentlemen said a few words on the subject, and the court unanimously concurred in their opinion on the propriety of the conduct of the governors and directors in opposing this measure.

A curious discovery, which may throw some light upon the means of curing the bites of poisonous reptiles, &c. has been lately published by a physician of New England, viz. that when a rattle-snake bites the nose of a dog, the latter digs a hole in the ground, and, by laying the part affected in it, is commonly cured.

The state of all the buildings at Somerset-place, it is said, will forthwith undergo a regular survey, at the particular expense of a great perfonge.

The expences of building Somerset-house have already amounted to 334,700l. — a sum of 33,502l. is further to be expended; exclusive of what may be necessary for repairs.

M A R R I E D.

Henry Earl Fauconberg, to Miss Cheshire, daughter of the late John Cheshire, Esq. of Bennington, Herts.

The Right Hon. John Charles Villiers, brother to the Earl of Clarendon, to Miss Mary Forbes, second daughter of Admiral Forbes.

In Dublin, Sir Edward William Crosby, Bart, to Mrs Dodd, daughter of the Right Hon. Lady Hester Westenra.

At Litchfield, the Rev. Spencer Madan, chaplain to his Majesty, and canon residuary of the cathedral church of Litchfield, to Miss Inge, daughter of the late William Inge, Esq. of Thorpe, in Staffordshire.

The Rev. John George Norbury, Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, to Miss Falcone, daughter of the Rev. Dr. Falconer, of Litchfield.

At North Abon, in Oxfordshire, Richard Palmer, of Hurst, in Berks, Esq. to the eldest daughter of Oldfield Bowles, Esq.

Captain Edward Chandler, of Combehill, Bath, to Miss Bury, daughter of —— Bury, Esq. of Cork.

At St. James's church, George Turnbull, Esq. to Miss Maxwell, of Bury-street, St. James's.

Thomas Bradford, Esq. of the city of Chester, to Miss Dewsbury, daughter of Mr. Alderman Dewsbury, of the same place.

At Wraxall, Somerset, the Rev. William Young Coker, of Trinity College, to Miss King, daughter of Walter King, Esq. of Nailsea-house, Bristol.

The Rev. Benjamin Kerr Vaughan, of Trinity College, Oxford, and rector of Axton Sifford, Devon, to Miss Stracey, daughter of Edward Stracey, Esq. of Rackheath, in Norfolk.

Captain French, of the 35th regiment, to Miss Eifton, daughter of Mr. John Eifton, solicitor at law.

At Perth, Andrew Bonar, Esq. banker, at Edinburgh, to Miss Ann Caw, daughter of John Caw, Esq. merchant, and late provost of Perth.

At Amwell near Ware, Herts, the Rev. John Young, LL. B. rector of Akeley, Bucks, to Miss Mary Wood, of Amwell.

At Southwarkborough, Hants, Robert Thornton Heysham, Esq. of Stagemoor Park, Hertfordshire, to Miss Hawkins.

Rev. Mr. Plymley, of Longnor, in Shropshire, to Miss Dansey, one of the daughters of the late Dansey Dansey, Esq. of Brinsop, in Herefordshire.

Jeffery Foote, Esq. of Elex-bridge, Dublin, to Miss Williams, daughter of James Williams, Esq. one of the high tithes of that city.

At Weston-under-Penyard, Thomas Brereton, Esq. of Wotton, near Gloucester,

to Miss Westfaling, of Rudhale, Herefordshire.

John Brereton Birch, Esq. of Northfleet Lodge, in Kent, to Miss Rous, daughter of the late Sir John Rous, Bart. and sister to the present member for Suffolk.

F. Wilmot, Esq. of St. Thomas's-street, Southwark, to Mrs. Butler, of the same place.

At St. George the Martyr's, Queen-square, the Rev. Charles Proby, eldest son of Commissioner Proby, at Chatham, to Miss Cherry, the eldest daughter; and the Rev. Henry Sawbridge, to Mrs. Blackford, widow of the late Thomas Blackford, of Northaw, Esq. second daughter of George Cherry, Esq. one of the commissioners for victualling his Majesty's Navy.

John Crefwell, Esq. scorekeeper and accountant of navy slops, to Miss Sophia Davenport, of Westminster.

The Rev. Dr. Barrow, master of the academy in Soho-square, to Mrs. Bissen, of Tottenham.

In Jamaica, John Campbell, Esq. of Lancashire, to Miss Elizabeth Bell, lately from Glasgow.

In the same island, Moses Bravo, Esq. to Mrs. Abigail Da Castro, widow of Joachim Da Castro, Esq.

At Hedenham, Norfolk, Edward Foster, Esq. of Oxford, to Mrs. Addison, daughter of P. Bedingfield, Esq. late of Ditchingham-hall, Norfolk.

Capt. Richard Parks, of the Hon. East India Company's service to Miss Mary Eleonora Constantin.

Charles Brooke, Esq. of Basinghall-street, to Miss Lippatt, of Fetherham.

Captain Bouchier, of the navy, to Miss Corbet, of Darnhall, in Cheshire.

At Rippon, W. J. Moorhouse, Esq. to Miss Lunn.

R. H. Hale, Esq. of Shropshire, to Miss Burwell, of Butterly, Herefordshire.

William Horier, Esq. the younger, of Newlands, to Miss Jean Campbell, daughter of John Campbell, Esq. of Clathick.

In November last, in Spanish-Town, Jamaica, Captain Stebelin, of the royal artillery, to Miss French.

D E A T H S.

Miss Dorothy Dundas, fourth daughter of Sir Thomas Dundas, Bart.

In Dublin, John Kennedy Strong, Esq. late a Captain in his Majesty's 64th regiment.

At Carnew, in the county of Wicklow, Ireland, aged 100, Thomas James, Esq. father of Alderman James of Dublin.

At Barostown, in the county of Westmeath, Ireland, the Reverend William Jephson, D. D. Rector of Ray, in the diocese of Raphoe, of Kilbriton, in the diocese

diocese of Cork, and Curate of Monkstown.

Mrs. Morris, of Clayhill, Hampstead, in consequence of a fright which she received during the late tremendous storm.

After only a few hours illness, in an obscure situation at Deptford, Mrs. Helena Macfelan, a native of Hanover, who came over during the reign of King George the First; she had attained 97 years, and was hardly ever known to have had a day's illness.

At Mackworth, near Derby, in his 8th year, the Rev. John Pickering, upwards of fifty-eight years Vicar of that place.

At Tenterden, in Kent, John Dyne, Esq.

At the seat of the Right Hon. Lord Laddaff, in Thomas-Town, Ireland, the Hon. George Matthew.

At Weybridge, Colonel Preston, aged 66.

In Newgate, Samuel Withers, the young lad, only 17 years of age, who was capitally convicted last sessions at the Old Bailey of forging a draft for the payment of 60l. on the Banking-house of Mess. Biddulph, Cox, and Co. Charing-cross.

Miss Langton, daughter of Bennet Langton, Esq. of Langton, in the county of Lincoln.

John Blacket, Esq. of Wylam, Treasurer of the county of Northumberland.

In the 77th year of his age, at his seat at Sirloe, in Huntingdonshire, Christopher Hobson, Esq. of Clifford's Inn.

At Olmington, near Weymouth, Mrs. Gilbert, relic of Thomas Gilbert, Esq. late of Bathwick; who also died, at the same place, the 2d of last month.

At his house in Southampton-row, Bloomsbury, Nathaniel Newbery, Esq.

Samuel Peach, Esq. formerly Member of Parliament for Cricklade, in Wiltshire.

At the Manor-House, Walworth, Mrs. Clutton.

Lady Young, wife of Sir William Young, Bart. M. P.

At Lincoln, the Lady of Robert Burton, Esq.

In the 71st year of his age, Charles Foreman, of Epsom, Esq.

In Abingdon-street, William Pearce, Esq. nephew to the late Bishop of Rochester.

At Hammersmith, Mrs. Du Bissou, wife of John Du Bissou, Esq.

At Clontarf, Ireland, Thomas Bunbury, Esq. late Captain of the third regiment of foot.

Lieutenant Gabriel Trotter, of the 75th regiment, youngest son of Thomas Trotter, Esq. of Morton-hall.

At Long Horsley, Northumberland, the Rev. Mr. Middleton, A. B. 43 years vicar of that parish, and in the 86th year of his age.

At Brunswick, the Rev. Jacob Herderberg, D. D. and President of Queen's College in New Jersey.

At Nassau, New Providence, Henry Hartley, Esq. Lieutenant and Adjutant of his Majesty's 74th regiment of foot.

At Norwich, aged 73, John Morpew, Esq. an eminent Attorney, and one of the ablest Ecclesiastical Lawyers of his time.

John Davison, M. D. aged 78 years, during 50 of which he had practised physic in Nottingham.

On Saturday morning the 16th ult. at one o'clock, Death, with inexorable hand, summoned to the world of spirits the very much respected, and highly revered character, the Hon. James Bowdoin, Esq. late Governor of New England. If native genius, embellished with all the ornaments of polite learning; if deep researches into the nature and principles of philosophy, and of the Arts and Sciences in general: if a profound knowledge of government, and the politicks of his country; if the love and esteem of his fellow citizens, and of the literati of the world, from an extensive reputation — if the prayers of the poor and needy, to whom he bestowed with a silent, but a liberal hand; if the tears of his relations and household; if the ardent wishes of his particular friends, and of all who knew him—if sincere and unaffected piety and religion, added to the most exemplary morality, from earliest youth, could have emancipated from the grave any character, this truly dignified one would have never tasted death: But “it is appointed for all men once to die.”

Near Blarney, in Ireland, Owen McCarthy, Esq. aged 84 years, commonly called Master-na-moran, or Lord or Master of the Principality of Moran. He has left an only son, now Governor of Miranda, and Colonel of a regiment of horse in the Portuguese service. The deceased had 15 brothers, 13 of whom emigrated for bread, after losing their estates in this kingdom, and were promoted to high ranks in the different armies of France, Spain, Portugal, and Germany.

At Taunton, in Somersetshire, Ambrose Reddal, Esq. Captain in the Royal Navy.

B A N K R U P T S:

William Simpson, of Newark, upoa Trent, mercer and draper. John Greenway, of the parish of All Saints, in the city of Worcester, coal-merchant and barge-owner. James Fynmore, of Sherborne, Dorsetshire, linen-draper. Andrew Hardlow, late of the town of Southampton, breeches-maker. Samuel Nelme, now or late of St. John's square, vintner. Hill Callicot the younger, of the city of Bristol, soap-maker and tallow-chandler. William

William Payne, late of the parish of King-
wiford, Staffordshire, grocer and maltster.
James Murphy, late of the city of Bristol,
but now of Liverpool, Lancashire, mariner.
Andrew M'Culloch, of Great May's-build-
ings, St. Martin's-lane, in the parish of St.
Martin in the Fields, vintualler. William
Page, late of the Union Brewhouse, Wapping
but now of the New-road, in the parish
of St. George in the East, brewer. Joseph
Trone, of Anerham, Buckingham-
shire, linen-draper. William Bull, of
Whitchurch, Buckinghamshire, carrier.
Thomas Silk, of the parish of St. Alphage,
London-wall, plasterer. William Lee,
the younger, Third Mate of the Britannia
East-Indiaman, (but now of Charing-
cross, Middlesex,) dealer and Chapman.
John Graham and William Hornby, both
late of the Chesterfield East-Indiaman,
merchants. Alexander Davidson and Bed-
ford Woodham, of Mermaid-court, South-
wark, soap-makers. Thomas Croggan, of
Penryn, Cumberland, linen-draper. John
Atkins of Birmingham, plater. James
Trimmell, of Bath, maltster. Benjamin
Robinson, of Birmingham, factor. John
Moore, of the Walh-way, Lambeth, gar-
dener. Caleb Tripp, late Second Mate
of the Contractor East Indiaman, and late
of the Mile-cud, mariner. John Main, late
of Charles-street, Covent-garden, taylor.
Alex. Clark, of Stanhope-street, Clare-
market, woollen-draper. Thomas Row,
of Newcastle upon Tyne, ship-owner.
Benjamin Read, of the parish of St. Leo-
nard, Shoreditch, calenderer. William
Lee, of King-street, Cheapside, dealer
and Chapman. John Warburton, of Li-
verpool, joiner and builder. Henry
Wheatley, of North-row, Hanover-square,
stable keeper. Wm. Urquhart, of Bur-
street, Middlesex, broker. Joseph Story,
of Sharp's-alley, Cow-cross, West-Smith-
field, soap-boiler and tallow-chandler.
William Kerby, of Plymouth Dock, shop-
keeper. Henry Murrell, of Bath, carpen-
ter and builder. John Taylor, of White-
haven, tinman and brazier. William Gre-
gory and James Bancroft, of Salford, Lan-
cashire, dyers. Francis Collins the young-
er, of Bristol, tobacco- and snuff maker.
Robert Raines Baines, of Kingston upon
Hull, grocer. James Barton, of Liverpool,
Lancashire, slater and plasterer. Joachim
Smith, of Hampstead, Middlesex, dealer
and Chapman. Henry Johnson, of Ox-
ford market, taylor. William Ostliffe, of
Church-street, Soho, taylor. John Win-
terbottom, of Manchester, merchant. Rd.
Hayward, of Bristol, block and pump-
maker, and ship chandler. Thomas Wal-
lace, of Tower Royal, Watling street,
London, merchant and mariner. Joseph
Walker, of Great Earl-street, Seven Dials,
baker. John Bew, of Paternoster-row,
bookeller. James Carruthers, of Milk-
street, Cheapside, wholesale mercer. Jo-
nathan Banks and James Hulon, of Great
Rutland-street, Oxford-road, glaziers and
Staffordshire warehousemen. Thomas
Crockart, of St. John, Wapping, dealer
and Chapman. John Hammerton, of Lit-
tle Shire-lane, Middlesex, wine and brandy
merchant. William Heelis the younger,
of Great Bolton, Lancashire, fustian manu-
facturer. George Bottle, late of the city
of Bath, dealer and Chapman. Benjamin
Willis, late of Sheffield, shagreen-cafe-
maker. Reuben Buckner, of Romsey Intra,
Hants, linen-draper. Joseph Burr, of Ox-
ford-street, horse-dealer. William Bower,
late of Manchester, grocer. Joseph Hole,
of Southwark, man's mercer. Thomas
Thompson, of Blackman-street, Southwark,
baker and mealman. Haldane Stewart, of
Noble-street, London, merchant. Giles
Boardman, of Pendleton, Lancashire,
nurseryman, seedman, and gardener. Ed-
ward Laskey, late of the parish of Ashbur-
ton, Devonshire, serge maker. Ann Dixon,
of Deptford, Kent, grocer. James Scott,
of Widegate-alley, London, cheesemonger.
Alexander Reed, late of Old Bond-street,
Middlesex, hosiery. James Richmond, of
Church-lane, Whitechapel, cooper. Tho.
Barron, of Jermyn-street, Middlesex, mo-
ney scrivener. John Bostock, of Man-
chester, joiner. John Dudgeon, of Drury-
lane, baker. Henry Roberts, of Black-
friars road, nurseryman. John Cock,
otherwife Cocks, of New Bond-street,
Middlesex, confectioner. Edward Snelfon,
of Oxford-street, haberdasher. Robert
Little, of Southwell, Nottinghamshire,
mercer. Isaac Watson, late of Whitchurch,
Herefordshire, dealer and Chapman. John
Bremen, of Manchester, cotton-manufac-
turer. William Meredith, formerly of
High-street, Shadwell, bather, late of the
West Indies, but now of Shadwell, mer-
chant. George Welch, late of the parish
of St. Giles in the Fields, Middlesex, wine
merchant. Thomas Waldron, of Catherine-
street, in the Strand, upholsterer. John
Richardson and Sylvester Hill, of the
Strand, linen drapers. John Cole, of
Watford, Hertfordshire, taylor and sale-
man. John Baker, of Chatham, Kent,
chinaman. William Burges, of the Bo-
rough, Southwark, hosiery. Tho. Pittard,
of Sherborne, Dorsetshire, carrier. John
Jackson, of Snow-hill, hatter. James
Cutten, partner with Edward Everett, of
Long Acre, coach maker. Henry Hoyle,
late of the Forest of Rossendale, Lancashire,
dealer and Chapman. Joshua Reyner, of
Manchester, house builder. John Daniel
the younger, of Manchester, fustian manu-
facturer. Wm. Nott, of Bristol, brewer.
Thomas Stow and Thomas New, of Bristol,
shoemakers. John Piper, of Brightelm-
stone, vintualler. Tho. Stowe, of Adder-
bury East, Oxfordshire, dealer and Chapman.

PRICE OF STOCKS IN DECEMBER, 1790, AND JANUARY, 1791.

METEOROLOGICAL DIARY
in LONDON, for January, 1791.
By Mr. W. JONES, Optician, HOLBORN.
height of the Barometer and Thermome-
meter with Fahrenheit's Scale.

Days.	Barometer Inches, and 100th Parts.			Thermome- ter. Fahrenheit's.			Weather in January, 1791.
	8 o'Clock Morning	8 o'Clock Night	11 o'Clock Morning	8 o'Clock Morning	11 o'Clock Noon	11 o'Clock Night	
D. 28	29 83 30	1	31 36	30	Fair		
29	30 88 29	97	28 49	32	Ditto		
30	29 76 29	66	35 89	39	Rain		
31	29 91 29	97	36 42	37	Ditto		
J. 1	29 87 29	60	38 44	43	Ditto		
2	29 58 29	1	31 38	36	Ditto		
3	29 17 29	23	30 38	35	Ditto		
4	29 18 29	20	33 36	31	Ditto		
5	29 91 30	4	34 40	37	Ditto		
6	29 88 29	97	36 41	38	Ditto		
7	29 11 29	21	37 40	39	Ditto		
8	29 8 29	11	37 39	40	Fair		
9	28 81 29	50	41 42	36	Ditto		
10	29 53 29	54	45 49	51	Rain		
11	29 57 29	17	50 49	39	Ditto		
12	29 76 29	16	38 44	47	Ditto		
13	29 20 29	47	42 45	38	Ditto		
14	29 50 29	60	41 45	39	Ditto		
15	29 85 29	60	3 44	50	Cloudy		
16	29 67 29	51	46 56	49	Ditto		
17	29 8 29	52	46 45	37	Fair		
18	29 31 28	67	37 44	22	Rain		
19	29 57 28	63	47 45	39	Cloudy		
20	28 16 28	64	39 44	36	Fair		
21	29 11 29	55	36 42	34	Ditto		
22	29 70 29	55	36 42	40	Rain		
23	29 57 0	15	45 45	44	Cloudy		
24	30 35 30	21	35 40	42	Fair		
25	30 11 30	1	42 47	45	Ditto		
26	30 29 30	84	44 45	44	Cloudy		
27	29 64 29	63	45 45	34	Rain		

Corn-Exchange, London.
RETURNS of CORN and GRAIN.
From Dec. 27, to Jan. 1, 1791.

Quar- ters.	Price.	Avr. Pr. per. Qt.
	L. s. d.	L. s. d.
Barley	8767 10474 3	10 1 3 10
Beans	2518 3308 15	2 1 6 3
Malt	5633 9942 11	3 1 15 3
Oats	4850 5016 10	5 1 0 8
Pease	1578 2423 18	8 1 10 8
Rye	111 162 18	3 1 9 4
R. Seed	—	—
Wheat	5859 13279 13	1 2 5 3
Bigg	—	—

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Frederick III. King of Prussia.